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MORAVIAN MISSIONS

TWELVE LECTURES

BY

AUGUSTUS C. THOMPSON, D.D.

AUTHOR OF "THE BETTER LAND" "MORNING HOURS IN PATMOS"
"THE MERCY SEAT" ETC

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1904

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1882.

TO

THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN,

ON THE THIRD JUBILEE

OF

THEIR FIRST FOREIGN MISSION,

August 21, 1882,

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

OF

THE MISSION TO ST. THOMAS.

PREFACE.

The following Lectures form one of the courses on Foreign Missions delivered at the Theological Seminary, Andover, during the years 1877–1880, and to the Theological Department of the Boston University, 1882.

The literature of the several subjects is added with considerable fullness; one reason being that American and English readers have less acquaintance with this department of missionary literature than with many others. As the Moravian missions are conducted chiefly by Germans, it is natural that various authorities in their language should appear in the list. The works cited differ greatly in value; but by an ample citation the author desires to aid inquirers who may wish to go over the same ground, in part or wholly, which he has himself traversed. A perusal of these works, or any considerable portion of them, can hardly fail to foster the sentiment of Count Zinzendorf: "The whole earth is the Lord's; men's souls are his; I am debtor to all."

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LECTURE I.

THE MORAVIANS.

THE MORAVIANS.

THE MORAVIANS — who are they, and where are they found?

We betake ourselves to Central Europe. A train from Dresden, on the Saxon-Silesian railway, soon brings us into Upper Lusatia. Thirty miles, and we are at Bautzen, where Napoleon repulsed the allied and Prussian forces in 1813. Seven miles farther on we pass the village of Hochkirch, where one of the bloodiest engagements in the wars of Frederick the Great was fought (1758). At Löbau, still farther east, a branch line diverges southward, and we soon reach the place of our destination, about fifty miles from Dresden. Herrnhut, the denominational centre of the United Brethren, is a village of only one thousand inhabitants, an abode of order, simplicity and neatness. An almost Sabbath quiet pervades the place. The style of building is uniform and unostentatious; everything indeed is plain; everywhere, however, are tokens of comfort, but no signs of abject poverty. We visit the Brethren's House,[1] a building set

[1] An inscription over the outside door reads: *Das erste Haus von Herrnhut; erbaut im Jahre* 1722.

apart for unmarried male members of the Community, where thirty of them have a comfortable home, with a large apartment for morning and evening worship. Here too are facilities for manual labor. We find several aged and disabled missionaries returned from foreign service. We next visit the Sisters' House, a larger and more imposing establishment, where are a hundred unmarried women, devoting themselves to various kinds of industry, especially needlework. Great neatness and cheerfulness reign here. Do these establishments suggest the thought of monasticism? If so, it is an unauthorized suggestion; for no vows are taken, and there is entire liberty on the part of inmates, to withdraw whenever they please, the arrangement being purely social and economical.

Turning to the Manor House, a spacious building that holds the Archives, we are shown through a suite of rooms hung with portraits of distinguished Moravians; where also is the Library containing an accumulation of manuscript treasures, among which are about eight thousand biographies of deceased members of the Moravian community. Here is a manuscript volume[1] in John Huss's handwriting, well on toward five

[1] We shall also be shown an old Hebrew Bible once belonging to Luther, which Zinzendorf obtained at Wittenberg, and in which are placed sundry manuscripts of Luther, Melancthor (who here spells his name *Melanchios*), Bugenhagen, Cruciger and other Reformers, written in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

hundred years old, and other valuable works in the Bohemian language.

A shaded avenue takes us to the Cemetery. Over the entrance, on the outside, is this inscription: "Jesus is risen from the dead;" and on the inside, "He is become the first fruits of them that sleep." The nearest grave on the left is that of Christian David, whose name has an honored place in Moravian history. The memorial stones, facing the east, small and recording only names and dates, lie in straight lines, flat upon the ground, as in all other Moravian places of burial, like Jewish gravestones in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and like those around the Cathedral in Glasgow. The hill, on the slope of which this shaded "Court of Peace" is situated, bears the name of Hutberg, whose summit is a rock crowned with an observatory. From that commanding point one enjoys a wide view over the Moravian domain, and southward far away to the rampart of mountains which separates this land of Protestant freedom from the territory of intolerant Austria.

Close by the base of the Hutberg runs an avenue from the village of Herrnhut to Berthelsdorf, lined with linden trees, the foliage so dense that the sun can scarcely shine through. We will pass down that charming slope of a thousand feet in the mile, which brings us to the hamlet of Berthelsdorf. We visit the large stone building which is now the official residence of several members of the

Elders' Conference, one apartment serving as their chapel for daily services; another as their Council Chamber, hung with portraits of men eminent in the Unitas Fratrum. There, around a table, they hold not less than three sessions every week. Scores of letters are received weekly from different quarters of the world, and the interests of the whole body, particularly of their foreign missions, are discussed. Here is the center and head of the Moravians. One department of the Board manages the educational work, elementary, collegiate and theological; another conducts the various financial undertakings, trades and the like, which help to support the church work; a third has specially to do with foreign missions; and a fourth is practically charged with the spiritual interests of the communion.

We would not leave this village of Berthelsdorf without paying our respects to members of the Elders' Conference, at their unpretending and well ordered homes. Here, for instance, is Bishop Cröger, author of a history of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, in two volumes, and the history of the Renewed Church, in three volumes, the latest and most valuable of that class of Moravian works.[1] Near by is Bishop Levin Theodore Reichel,[2] one of

[1] A yet more scholarly and elaborate work in that department is now in preparation by Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, Pa.

[2] Since deceased.

the three men in the immediate neighborhood bearing this name, and holding the same office, a native of Pennsylvania, the first editor of the American Tract Society's *German Messenger*, who has executed the drawings, maps and valuable missionary atlas illustrating the Brethren's foreign work. Other able and excellent men are in the neighborhood. The manners of the place are not marked by stiffness, though there is a certain air of formality and reserve. The Moravians as a body share in the emotional temperament of Southern and Middle Germany. They exhibit a sanctified *Gemüthlichkeit*, a word for which our temperament and our language hardly supply an exact equivalent. The little tinge of that mannerism which has helped to keep them in due separation from the world, and has helped them to maintain their integrity of sentiment and of life, does not materially check the cheery ingenuousness of social intercourse. Birthday celebrations, for example, are very delightful. The German custom of salutation at meals, before sitting down to the table and after rising, is retained, the host and hostess giving a cordial right hand and a customary good wish.[1]

Just before evening the bell at Herrnhut strikes for service in the village church, and we take our seats there, males and females apart. The minis-

[1] *Ein gesegnete Mahlzeit!* and *Ich wünsche wohl gespeist zu haben!*

ter who presides commences, at least he did on the occasion when I was present, with Luther's famous hymn:[1]

> "A castle is our God, a tower,
> A shield and trusty weapon."

Right heartily do the congregation join in that grand old lyric. Then follows an account of the Augsburg Confession, the Lutheran Protestant Creed of thirty articles adopted at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, because the day, June 25th, is the anniversary of that event, and it is one of the Memorial Days usually noticed in this way by the Brethren.

What now is the religious belief of the Unitas Fratrum?[2] What their culture and characteristics; and whence came they? Only in the light shed from these points can we rightly read the history of their foreign missions. As regards doctrinal belief, they have repeatedly avowed their substantial agreement with other evangelical

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[1] *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott,*
Ein' gute Wehr und Waffen.

[2] To the following articles of belief they adhere with a good deal of uniformity and firmness: The total depravity of human nature; the love of God who has "chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world," and "who gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;" the real Godhead and real manhood of Christ, through whose atonement alone we receive the forgiveness of sins; the Holy Spirit graciously working in us the knowledge of sin, faith in Jesus, and the witness of adoption; and the fruits of faith, indispensable as evidences of a living principle within.

churches. Like all such denominations they accept the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God, the sufficient and only authoritative rule of religious faith and practice. Moravian literature, prose as well as poetry, does not give great prominence to the demands of God's law, nor to future retribution; but regarding the person and offices of our Redeemer the Moravian pulpit and press are commendably full. "The great theme of our preaching," say they, "is Jesus Christ, in whom we have the grace of the Son, the love of the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost. The word of the Cross, which bears testimony of Christ's voluntary offering of himself to suffer and to die, and of the rich treasures of divine grace thus purchased, is the beginning, middle, and end of our preaching." They eschew the habit of dogmatizing, and do not cultivate theological acumen. Controversy and abstruse speculation on religious subjects they repudiate. With the exception of their Easter Morning Litany, containing merely the essential truths of the Christian religion, they have put forth no formulated creed of their own to which, as a body, they subscribe, although on the Continent of Europe, where their recognition by government depends upon a creed, they declare their adhesion to the Augsburg Confession with its twenty-one doctrinal articles. They by no means accept all the sentiments, and least of all certain vagaries found in the writings of Count Zinzendorf.

The Unitas Fratrum is a wide-spread confederation, the only Protestant church that subsists as an organic unit throughout the world. In its constitution it is Presbyterio-Episcopal, the fundamental principle being that all ecclesiastical affairs are collegiate, or conducted by boards. As a body the Moravians are governed by a General Synod which meets in Herrnhut at intervals of ten years, more or less, their last assemblage, the twenty-ninth, having been held in 1879. This supreme legislature consists of the Unity's officials, the Bishops of the church, nine delegates from each provincial Synod, and a few representatives from their foreign missions.[1] It legislates on matters common to the whole — the church's constitution, doctrine, discipline and foreign missions. Its executive, appointed by election, and called the Unity's Elders' Conference, carries out decisions, and exercises general superintendence during the intervals. That highest executive body has its seat at Berthelsdorf, the quiet little village upon which we looked down from the Hutberg, and to which we have just paid a flying visit.

The Unitas Fratrum is divided into three provinces — the Continental or German, the English, and the American, which are governed respect-

[1] There is a General Synod Fund, the compound interest on which accumulating during the ten years' interval, is sufficient to defray all expenses.

ively by Provincial Synods. Not unlike the relation of States in our Union to the general government, the provinces are independent as to provincial affairs, but intimately confederate as to all general principles of belief, practice, and foreign missionary work. The late Lord John Russell pronounced the constitution of the Moravian Church more skillfully and wisely balanced than any other which he was acquainted with.

The three orders, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, are maintained; but the form of government had been determined before the episcopate was adopted, and this additional element wrought no change as regards the seat of power, or the administration. Among the fundamental principles laid down by the General Synod are these: "Our episcopate, as such, gives no sort of claim to government in general, or to that of any congregation in particular; nor is the administration of dioceses by the bishops admissible." The episcopate, then, is spiritual and ministerial alone; Bishops have a vote at General and Provincial Synods, but their office as such carries with it no ruling power in the church, their special function being the ordination of ministers.[1] They are not

[1] At the same time, however, they are almost invariably members of the governing boards, at the head of which they stand as presidents, presiding also, as a general thing, at the synods. Their office, moreover, is defined to be "in a peculiar sense that of 'intercessors in the Church of God.'"

lords, but brethren; and that, too, in the matter of salary as in other respects, the average of salaries being low.

Such a polity, it is obvious, differs widely from the provincial or diocesan episcopacy of the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England. Of the numerous men who have held this office, not one has ever been deposed, or been charged with any flagrant offense. The Brethren's episcopate, received by them in 1735, came through a small branch of the Waldensian Church, formerly in Austria.[1] Although the office remained quiescent at one period for thirty-two years, and although the thread of perpetuity became extremely tenuous, yet it seems to have remained unbroken, and has at times served a good purpose.[2] This is the oldest Protestant Episcopal Church in existence;

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[1] The Waldenses of more western Europe never laid claim to apostolic succession.

[2] For a long time the episcopate was maintained merely for the sake of keeping up the succession, although no opportunity existed for exercising the functions of the office. A visible organization of the church had ceased. The first Bishop of the Renewed Unity's Church was ordained (1735) by Daniel Ernestus Jablonsky, D.D., Court Preacher at Berlin, Counselor of the Royal Consistory, Church Counselor, and President of the Royal Academy of Sciences. He was a grandson of Comenius. The ordination took place with the concurrence, by letter, of Sitkovius, a Bishop of the Polish Brethren, and with the royal consent. Only two persons were present to witness the act. Of the one hundred and ten Bishops of the Renewed Church, about twelve have been from artisan or other humble positions.

but as regards their episcopate, the Moravians are singularly free from assumption; they do not question the validity of Presbyterian ordination; the succession which they most value is that of apostolic truth, spirit and labors; and they give marked prominence to the sole headship of Jesus Christ over the church in all her proceedings.

Like the Fathers of New England, the Unitas Fratrum have, for the most part, upheld a scriptural discipline, maintaining that adhesion to a creed is not enough, but insisting upon evidence of personal piety as a condition of church membership.[1] High commendation is due to them for taking such ground, and so early, on the Continent, where connection with state churches had long been and still is a matter of course. In this respect the United Brethren, under their old régime as well, were greatly in advance of the German and Swiss Reformers, not chronologically alone, but also in the firmness with which they demanded purity of life as a test of discipleship. So pronounced were they in their communications to Luther that he took offense. At that time he needed a rebuke; upon further acquaintance he

[1] "It has been from the beginning, and must ever remain, a matter of serious concern on the part of the Brethren's Church, that every individual member of the church should be a true Christian. For this it is necessary that the soul be brought to an increasingly deep and thorough knowledge of its sin and misery, of its worthiness of damnation, and of its need of redemption." *Results of General Synod of* 1879.

felt differently, and had the grace to acknowledge his mistake.[1] "Since the days of the apostles," he wrote, "there has existed no church, which in her doctrines and rites has more nearly approximated to the spirit of that age, than the Bohemian Brethren. Although they do not exceed us in purity of doctrine, for all the articles of faith are taught by us plainly and clearly according to the Word of God, yet they do excel us in the observance of regular discipline, whereby they blessedly rule their congregations, and in this respect they are more deserving of praise than we." Their Renewed Church, during most of the last century, and at the present time also, deserves praise on the score of exemplary living. No other religious denomination, as a whole and for so long a period, has maintained a moral and social character more unimpeachable. I do not learn that an instance of capital crime or of divorce has ever been known among them.

As a body they exhibit a childlike, cheerful piety, which, with its accompanying avoidance of noise and ostentation, seems, in a good measure, to realize the true conception of primitive Chris-

[1] Martin Bucer also wrote (1540) to the Brethren: "I am persuaded that you alone are they that at this day are found in all the world, amongst whom only flourishes a sound doctrine, with pure, wholesome, edifying discipline." "Truly we are much ashamed of ourselves when we compare at any time our church with this of yours."

tian character. In their renunciation of worldly vanities they exhibit simplicity unattended by asceticism. I am not aware that any other modern Christian community have habitually, and for a lengthened period, more completely blended quiet religious earnestness with a joyous discharge of the common affairs of life. At their outset it was an aim, and to some good degree that aim has been kept up, to make all duties and all labor serve the purpose of spiritual refreshment. Their inner life, like that of their founder, is largely fed by sacred song; they have many fine chorals, some of them ancient, and also an abundance of hymns — cradle hymns, hymns for traveling, and, before the distaff became obsolete, spinning hymns. A blessing is often asked in the form of a verse sung at the table. But affluence rather than high poetic merit characterizes their hymnology. One of the compilations prepared by Zinzendorf embraces over two thousand (2,169) sacred lyrics designed for public use.

Their Ritual is marked by comparative brevity and a limited number of formularies. Changes too are made from time to time, but only by authority of the General Synod. For the morning service of the Lord's Day there is a prescribed Litany, but in other than Sabbath morning services extempore prayer is offered. For burial, marriage, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, there are prescribed forms; and for the church seasons

elaborate liturgical services, especially in the German language. Love Feasts, suggested by the primitive Agapæ, are maintained, with symbols of family fellowship among Christians. Indeed, the fraternal sentiment and bond are peculiarly strong; their universal motto would seem to be: "Together do we pray, labor, suffer, rejoice." [1]

And here it may be remarked, that during one third of a century from the date of their gathering at Herrnhut, the period of their greatest denominational aggressiveness, and before their religious views and usages had fully crystallized, there was, as is usual in such cases, comparative crudeness in their conceptions, and notwithstanding an element of quietism, there was what outsiders pronounced a certain air of self-assertion. That was inevitable. Their continental colonies, not to refer to others, planted in the midst of arrogant confessionalism, and the cold Lutheran orthodoxy of that day, were little fountains of spiritual life — conscious, vigorous life. They had a mission; it was to awaken, to foster, to conserve the elements of vital Christianity wherever found. Each individual member, and each collective community was deemed, nor wholly without reason, peculiarly a temple of the Holy Ghost, a tabernacle where the crucified One manifested

[1] In commune oramus, in commune labo amus, in commune patimur, in commune gaudemus.

himself in special intimacy. To profess that, among the frigid and unsympathizing, was of course to provoke the charge of assumption, enthusiasm, fanaticism. They were an emotional people; and undue emotional indulgence would sometimes degenerate, as it everywhere will, into sentimentality.

The Moravians observe the chief festivals of the Christian year, as well as Memorial Days, days noteworthy in their own ecclesiastical history; and furthermore, the annual festivals of the various choirs, or classes of the congregation. Christmas is a most joyous occasion; the night-watch universally closes the year. Passion week is celebrated chiefly by the public reading of a harmonized account from the Gospels, of our Saviour's last days on earth, interspersed with the singing of appropriate stanzas. No other church surpasses the Moravian in the jubilant character of Easter services. It is the custom in their villages for a procession with trombones, a favorite instrument, to awake the inhabitants before daybreak by an Easter morning choral. An early matin service is held; and after that they go to the cemetery in season to meet the rising sun. Nothing can be more impressive than this devoutly joyful observance. A special Easter Litany is used; and no body of Christians have a more exultant belief in the resurrection of the dead. There, amidst the graves of a multitude

who have fallen asleep in Jesus, the prayer goes up: "Keep us in everlasting fellowship with our brethren and with our sisters who have entered into the joy of their Lord; also with the servants and handmaids of our church, whom thou hast called home in the past year, and with the whole church triumphant." The closing ascription is rendered: "Glory be to Him who is the Resurrection and the Life; He was dead, and behold He is alive for evermore. And he that believeth in Him, though he were dead, yet shall he live. Glory be to Him in the church which waiteth for Him, and in that which is around him, forever and ever. Amen." The effective accompaniment of trombones lends grandeur to the service, and seems to anticipate the voice of the archangel and the trump of God.

The United Brethren have done much in the line of education. This was true during their earlier era. The last of their bishops of the Moravian Province, John Amos Comenius (Komensky), through his numerous and valuable writings on the subject, enjoyed a European reputation. His work, *Janua linguarum reserata*, a new method of teaching languages (1631), had a remarkable popularity, being translated into twelve European tongues and into more than one Asiatic tongue — the Turkish and Arabic. *Orbis Pictus* by him has not even yet passed out of use, and his works number over ninety. He was a pioneer

in advocating the equal education of the sexes, the system of object teaching, the necessity of physical training, and the importance of aiming to develope the whole human being. His services were sought for in Poland, Sweden, and England; and no educator of that day achieved such celebrity. Through the negotiation of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, during his travels in the Low Countries, Comenius was at one time on the point of becoming President of Harvard College, but through the influence of the Swedish ambassador, his steps were turned in another direction.[1] A man so much respected for learning and religious character would make his impress on education among the Brethren of the Renewed Church. They are not deficient in theological seminaries,[2] there being one such in each of the three provinces — the one at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, having been established the same year as that of Andover (1807). Infant and parochial schools are well administered, but their boarding-schools have become famous. The first was opened at Neuwied on the Rhine (1756); and there are now fifty-one, four of them in the United States. The seminary for girls at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, opened in 1749 — converted into a boarding-school thirty-four years later (1783)—

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, Book IV.

[2] In Prussia at Gnadenfeld, in England at Fairfield near Manchester.

takes rank, in order of time, before all other enterprises for female education this side the Atlantic. Glancing at the catalogues of institutions so recent as most of ours, the eye lingers with some degree of surprise on one for 1881, its title-page announcing the "one hundred and thirty-second scholastic year."[1] In Moravian schools we find a sensible and thorough course, with no excess of mental stimulus; a healthful religious atmosphere; a supervision of pupils that is kind and indefatigable, no one being left without teacher or guardian day or night. The pupils at these excellent seminaries are largely from outside the denomination.[2]

Although Moravian communities are well educated, it is not authorship but edification and unobtrusive action which have been their aim.

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[1] The Moravian Female Seminary at Salem, North Carolina, was opened in 1804.

[2] The Baroness Bunsen remarks: "The Moravian training has left a blessing behind it—'some kindly gleam of love and prayer'—'to soften every cross and care'—impressions of the love of God and man, of devotional charity which intercourse with the world could not efface, and which in the cool of solitude could revive; and lawful, correct notions of Christian doctrine and of man's duty and calling. These are the *positive* advantages which I have seen and known to be the fruits of Moravian education, though there may be cases in which such have not been its results. The *negative*, and yet important, advantages consist in extreme simplicity of habits of life, and the absence of all attention to mere matters of vanity." *Life and Letters*, II, 95.

Beyond sacred lyrics and missionary publications their contributions to literature have not been large; though science is now and then indebted to the Unity.[1] Men born and bred among the Moravians have sometimes passed into other communions and there distinguished themselves. Such were Fries, the philosopher, Novalis (Von Hardenburg), philosopher, poet, and mystic, and Dr. von Zeschwitz, a professor at Erlangen.[2] Schleiermacher's early education was at a pædigogium of the Brethren, and he never ceased to feel the happy influence of his training while there. Eminent German professors have, through Moravian influence, been brought to a saving knowledge of the truth. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, began his official life as a decided rationalist; he attended a religious service among the United Brethren, became deeply impressed, betook himself to the study of the Bible, and came forth a champion of evangelical Christianity. Olshausen too began as a rationalist; would taunt Tholuck

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[1] Lewis David de Schweinitz, for instance, a former divine at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, two of whose sons became Bishops of the American Province, was an eminent naturalist, and distinguished himself in certain recondite branches of botany. He gave an impulse especially to the study of American Fungi, in which department he added about twelve hundred species.

[2] In our country, Dr. Ernest L. Haselius, a leading professor and an author of note among Southern Lutherans, and Dr. Joseph F. Berg, son of a Moravian missionary in Antigua, a champion of Protestantism.

for being a pietist and Herrnhutter; but the reading of the *Life of Count Zinzendorf* was blessed to his conversion.[1]

It becomes an historical requirement that we look at the earlier, the furnace period of the United Brethren, and their exodus from the house of bondage. I must then invite you to accompany me to Hochwald,[2] in the range of the Riesen-Gebirge, "Giant Mountains," where we shall find a summit-house like that on our Mt. Washington. Here are the confines of the great Sclavonic family of nations which, with their eighty millions, people the eastern portion of Europe. We are standing on an elevated crest that encompasses the Bohemian basin. From the sides of the mountain ranges enclosing this irregular square, the streams flow toward the center, and unite to form the river Elbe, which, breaking through the mountain wall, pursues its course of five hundred miles to the German Ocean. By numerous rivers, and by its twenty thousand ponds, the country is well watered; it has a fair share of fertile lands; it has mineral wealth; it has mineral springs — those of Carlsbad, Marienbad, Töplitz, and Seidlitz are famous. We are

[1] *Life of Charles Hodge*, 129, 134.

[2] One hundred miles to the east is Breslau, the capital of Silesia, forty or more miles westward lies Dresden, the capital of Saxony, and sixty miles southward is Prague, the capital of Bohemia.

looking down upon the chief center of the Thirty Years' War; also on the seat of the war of 1865, and our eye detects the memorable neighborhood of Königgrätz. We are gazing upon a cradle of the great German Reformation of the sixteenth century, which, in some respects, was an outcome from the pioneer work of Bohemian martyrs, almost as truly as the noble German Elbe has its head waters here. A bigoted type of Romanism reigns within this girdle of hills. Looking back upon the history of Bohemia, as we have now glanced round her domain, we light upon dark chapters; we read of bitter hatred, calumnies and manifold wrongs heaped upon those noble men, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and their adherents, a century before the great movement under Luther, Zwingle, and Knox. In the war that ensued upon the martyrdom at Constance (1415) and in later persecutions, we read of unsurpassed insult and ferocity exercised upon reformers and reformed before and since the Reformation. One specimen will suffice. A captain of Jaromier broke into the church of Kerezin during divine service; ordered some of those present to be massacred, and others to be seized as prisoners. Then taking the chalice full of wine from the altar, he drank to the health of his horse, and gave him also to drink, saying that his horse even had become a Utraquist. Jesenius, physician and professor in the University of Prague, because of

his becoming ambassador to Hungary, was condemned to have his tongue cut out, his body quartered, and then his head and limbs exposed. But, so the historian relates, "Through the tenderness of the king, after having his tongue cut out, he shall first be beheaded and then quartered." [1] Tender-hearted monarch!

It was at the village of Kunewalde, about eighty miles from Prague, in the circuit of Königgrätz, on the northeastern confines of Bohemia and Silesia, that the founding of the ancient church took place (1457), though it assumed a more definite form ten years later (1467). That was sixty years before the famous theses were nailed to the door of the Castle church at Wittenberg. About that time, the middle of the fifteenth century, the proscribed followers of Huss began to call one another by the title of Brethren, first calling themselves *Fratres Legis Christi;* but as that appellation might suggest the idea of a monastic order, it was afterwards exchanged for *Unitas Fratrum*, and was assumed on account of a formal union (1457–60) between Moravians, Bohemians and Waldenses. In process of time they came to be known as the church of the Bohemian Brethren, which, after generations of trial, and a season of apparent extinction, is to reappear as the present Unitas Fratrum. Their

[1] *The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia*, I, 18, 392.

rugged cradle and rigorous Kindergarten lay within the period and the region now before us For a century and more these witnesses to the truth, at intervals "had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonments; they wandered in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth;" and hence were called "Pitmen" or "Burrowers." Owing to persecution, many fled to Poland; and at one time, the middle of the sixteenth century, there were three confederate provinces, the Bohemian, Moravian, and Polish, as now there are the German, English, and American. Their condition was much the same as that of the Vaudois in Piedmont and the Camisards in Southern France. At different periods you may see them gathering in mountain defiles and caverns, amidst the intense cold of a Bohemian winter, to read the Holy Scriptures around camp-fires which they do not dare to kindle by day lest the smoke should betray their place of assembling. On the way to such rendezvous they tread one in the steps of another, the last comer fully obliterating the tracks with a pine branch dragged behind him. At one time six men, artisans and peasants, are brought before Baron von Schwanberg. A priest asks them if they will follow him as spiritual guide. They answer: "The Shepherd of our souls is Jesus Christ;" and they are led out to execution. At another time (1528), two brothers, mechanics, are

conducted to the stake at Prague. "As the Lord Jesus has suffered such cruel pain for us," says one of them, "we will also endure this death, rejoicing that we are counted worthy to suffer for the Word of God." "Truly," replies the other, "I never felt such joy even on my wedding day as now." Seasons of relief sometimes occurred, and occasionally through a noticeable interposition. In one instance the Arch-Chancellor of Bohemia repaired to Vienna (1563) to obtain a decree for fresh persecution. His importunity succeeded, but on his return a bridge over the Danube sank under him; the greater part of his suite were drowned, and the casket which contained the fatal decree was never recovered. Before that time there had been so many sudden deaths of powerful enemies of the Gospel as to occasion a proverb: "If any man is weary of life he has only to persecute the Brethren."

At the time of the Reformation four hundred churches, with a membership of two hundred thousand, might be found in Bohemia and Moravia. In one of the synodical gatherings there were present, besides ecclesiastics, seventeen of the most distinguished barons of Bohemia, and one hundred and forty-six nobles of inferior rank. Printing-presses were busy in multiplying copies of the Bohemian Bible, catechism, hymn-books and theological works. It is their honor to have been the first to translate the Bible into the

Bohemian vernacular from the original tongues. This version, which is a model of idiomatic Bohemian, and a linguistic authority to the present day, appeared in six volumes folio, from 1579 to 1590, and was the labor of fifteen years.[1]

But the rancorous Ferdinand II, who came to the throne (1617), had been educated by the Jesuits; was a very child of hell; took upon himself a vow to exterminate all heresy, and with the bitter fidelity of fanaticism, acted on his resolution. Thus began that disastrous movement known as the Anti-Reformation. Imprisonment, confiscation, banishment and torture were the order of the day. Some of the Brethren apostatized; but many remained heroically firm, like John Prostiborsky, who, amidst the agonies of the rack, bit his tongue that he might not reveal anything to the injury of his associates. At length the decisive battle of Weisenberg, "White Mountain," 1620, gave apparently a final triumph to the cause of unrighteousness, and extirpation of the evangelicals was resolved upon. The noble army of martyrs received large accessions, not less than twenty-seven Protestant noblemen, many of them members of the Brethren's Church, being executed in one day (1621). Count Andreas Schlick, one of the most eminent for talent and accomplish-

[1] The New Testament has been reprinted by the Amos Comenius Society at Prague, assisted by the London Religious Tract Society.

ments among the Bohemian nobility, mounting the scaffold in the full blaze of a June morning, exclaims: "Christ, the sun of righteousness, grant that I may pass through the darkness of death to thine everlasting light!" The knight, Caspar Capliz, eighty years of age, too feeble to walk alone, and too stiff to kneel at the place of execution, except with great difficulty, breathes out his soul with the words: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Just as the executioner was ready to do his office, "I see the heavens opened," exclaimed Otto von Loos, Stephen-like. Such were the victims of the tender mercies of Holy Mother Church and of civil potentates obedient to her behests. At the castle of Prostau hundreds of persons were confined in the stable, every opening of which was carefully closed up, thus converting it into an earlier Black Hole of Calcutta. At Königgrätz the brutal soldiery, quartered upon those inhabitants whose only fault was that they were not Papists, practiced special severity. Shall it be considered a coincidence undesigned by God, that the decisive battle which humbled Austria in 1866 occurred at Königgrätz?

Evangelical pastors, whether Lutherans, Reformed, or Picards, as the Brethren were called contemptuously, became especially obnoxious to the Papists, who at length effected their removal.[1]

[1] In 1624 all had been driven from the country. Of the two hundred who went into exile, one hundred and four died within ten years.

To harbor one of those banished men was made a penal offence; Protestant Bibles and other books were burned — one Jesuit boasting that he had thus destroyed over sixty thousand volumes; graves were desecrated; taxation amounting to spoliation, and other oppressive measures continued till the population of the country was reduced to about one fourth — from three millions to eight hundred thousand. More than thirty thousand families emigrated. Flourishing domains became wastes, while the spiritual desolation was still more appalling. Ferdinand made a solitude, and called it peace, and received the thanks of the Romish hierarchy as if he had performed a meritorious feat. Economically Bohemia suffered no less than Spain from the expulsion of the Moors, and France from the exile of the Huguenots.[1]

The last bishop of this older Brethren's Church, Comenius, a man of superior talent, learning and piety, has already been mentioned as a distinguished educator. When, in 1627, all the Protestant nobility were expelled from the kingdom, he was obliged to leave his retreat, the castle of a friendly Bohemian baron, and with a part of his flock to migrate into Poland. Reaching the sum-

[1] In the peace of Westphalia (1648) the Protestant powers made no effort to secure a single stipulation favorable to their co-religionists in Bohemia and Moravia, but abandoned them to the merciless intolerance of Austria.

mit of this very range of mountains where, in imagination, we have stationed ourselves, he turned for a farewell look upon that region which had become an aceldama, kneeled with his fellow exiles, and offered up a most fervent prayer, beseeching God not to suffer the light of divine truth to go out in those countries they were leaving, but that he would there preserve a seed to serve him. His supplication ranks among the memorable historic prayers, such as that of William Tyndale, who, an exile and at the stake, offered the petition: "O Lord, open the king of England's eyes." A century afterwards it was inscribed within the ball of the Bohemian church-steeple at Berlin, being then regarded as a prayer and a prophecy accomplished.[1]

By the close of the seventeenth century any student of history, or observer of the times, would have said that Protestantism had breathed its last in Bohemia. The Brethren's Church, subsequent to its destruction in that country, after having continued for nearly three quarters of a century longer in Poland and Hungary, now had no distinct existence; even the shadow of organization

[1] Comenius is a grand and venerable figure of sorrow. Wandering, persecuted and homeless, during the terrible and desolating Thirty Years' War, he yet never despaired, but with enduring truth, and strong in faith, he labored unweariedly to prepare youth by a better education for a better future. *Von Raumer.*

could not easily be found. The Brethren had been banished, burned, drowned, or imprisoned in the deep mines of Kuttenberg. What but extinction may be expected when a people are outlawed and despoiled; when they are liable to be thrust into dungeons or bound to the rack; when they may be murdered with impunity; when a man's foes are they of his own household, nearest relatives in the dread of death betraying one another? It is only strange that this outraged church had existed so long. Through many a dreary year her "witnesses prophesied, clothed in sackcloth."

Notwithstanding public Protestantism was extinguished, the Lord still had a small remnant, called "The Hidden Seed," in Bohemia and Moravia. Here and there was a Bible in a cellar, in a hole in the wall, in a hollow log, or in a space beneath the dog-kennel—a secret which the head of the family would dare to make known, even to his children, only on his death-bed. At one place on the border line of Hungary, the farmers were wont to go over the boundary from week to week on Saturday, to bring hay in their carts; and they would also bring back their pastor, concealed in a load, that he might preach to them on the Sabbath. At another village might be seen a woodman, axe in hand, wending his way through the forest in order to hold a service, though at the risk of his life, among Bohemian Brethren. He was a Hungarian pastor, and did not bid for a larger field or a higher salary.

All this while the Lord had his thoughts of mercy, and his ulterior plans. Though the very name of the Brethren had almost died out, a breath of spring passed over the little remnant in Bohemia and Moravia. This breathing of the Holy Spirit from the four winds of heaven early in the last century (1715) came into the valley of vision at one and the same time, without concert between the dry bones of Fulneck[1] in Moravia, and Leutomischel and Landscrone in Bohemia —one of those instances of simultaneous and independent gracious visitation which always betoken something special and far-reaching in the spiritual kingdom. Christian David, a carpenter in the village of Senftleben, a superstitious Roman Catholic, had soul-troubles which no penances or invocation of saints could relieve. Till twenty years of age he had not even seen a Bible; but coming into acquaintance with some of the Protestants who, in spite of imprisonment, would pray and sing, whatever it cost them, and obtaining a copy of the Holy Scriptures, he was savingly taught of God. Leaving his native country, he worked at his trade in Prussia, Lusatia and Silesia, becoming meanwhile fully confirmed in the faith. He began to make journeys back into Moravia that he might communicate truths which

[1] Fulneck belonged to the parish in which Comenius had labored, and in which afterwards was felt the influence of the pious George Jäschke.

had brought life to his own soul. Arriving at his native village (1717) he became acquainted with the family of Neissers, grandchildren of a deeply pious man, George Jäschke, who, like Enoch, had walked with God in the midst of an ungodly Jesuit community. They were powerfully awakened, and desired to emigrate. Christian David searched long to find an asylum for them; and was finally directed to Count Zinzendorf, who promised to receive Moravian emigrants on his estate at Berthelsdorf. Christian David hastens back (1722), and two out of five brothers resolve at once to leave house and home, a good business and a handsome property. In the fear of betrayal they dare not communicate their decision to friends, though they could not refrain from apprising their mother, who was so overcome as to faint repeatedly. The next night two of the Neissers, their wives, one son of six years, a daughter of three, and twins only twelve weeks old, with Jäschke and a young woman, after ten o'clock start on their pilgrimage under the guidance of Christian David. He conducts them along by-ways into Silesia, and the exiles reach the estate of Zinzendorf, though the Count himself was then absent in Dresden. At the instance of his steward and of a tutor in the Gersdorf family at Gross-Hennersdorf, a site for them is selected. It was then a perfect wilderness, covered with bushes and trees; the ground a swamp,

and not a habitation to be seen in the vicinity. The first blow of a woodsman's axe was struck by Christian David, whose tombstone is the first to meet us on entering the cemetery at Herrnhut. Passing through the present village in a direction nearly opposite to that "God's Acre," we come to a monument placed near the highway, in a grove. It is the only monument of the kind to be found throughout the region; for the Moravian Brethren are not given to paying compliments either to the living or the dead. Even this *Denkstein* exhibits no name. The inscription runs thus: "On this spot was felled the first tree for the settlement of Herrnhut, June 17, 1722. Psalm 84: 4 [3]: 'Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my king and my God.'" The new settlement here was begun just one hundred years after the destruction of the old Moravian church in Bohemia and Moravia, and came to be known as Herrnhut, the "Lord's Watch."

The departure of the Neissers exposed their relatives who remained behind to persecution. They were thrown into prison; one man's house was leveled to the ground, merely for having lodged a Protestant; but this only reconciled them to leave all the next year and betake themselves to Herrnhut. Christian David revisited Moravia, and his secret labors were attended by a remark-

able religious awakening. Herdsmen among their flocks spent the time in prayer and in singing spiritual hymns; secular music was no longer heard in the villages, and places of amusement were abandoned. The old resort of fine, imprisonment and torture failed to arrest the work of grace or to check the flight of the Brethren. Once fairly beyond the immediate precincts of peril from Jesuit watchfulness, they would fall on their knees, implore divine protection, and join in a hymn which their ancestors had composed and sung under similar circumstances a hundred years before:

"Bless'd be the day when I must roam
Far from my country, friends and home,
An exile poor and mean;
My fathers' God will be my guide,
Will angel guards for me provide,
My soul in danger screen;
Himself will lead me to a spot,
Where, all my cares and griefs forgot,
I shall enjoy sweet rest;
As pants for cooling streams the hart,
I languish for my heavenly part,
For God, my refuge blest."

Thus one group after another effected their escape, never without greatest inconvenience, great suffering, and often with signal interpositions of Providence. The sacred stream, which to all public observation was completely dried up, had only disappeared beneath the surface; and now at the foot of the Hutberg is a Siloam where

it comes to light again. If Catholic potentates and priesthood had been tolerant, the Unitas Fratrum might never have had existence outside of the Austrian empire. Herrnhut is the Plymouth Rock of the Moravians. The privations of early settlers there were not inferior to those of our fathers, nor was their cheerfulness under those privations inferior. Yes, here is the cradle of a Renewed Church; here the administrative center of that community bearing the corporate name of Unitas Fratrum, which for a century and a half, notwithstanding its wide dispersion, has remained singularly united; and in proportion to numbers and resources, has continued loyal, beyond any other religious body, to the true idea of gospel promulgation. Her evangelism is her life and glory, prosecuted as it has been in regions and under circumstances most forbidding. Whatever else of value may have resulted from the Bohemian reformation, or may now remain in that country, this was the jewel.[1]

On the map of Europe Herrnhut is an almost invisible point. In the chart of modern history, the affairs of Bohemia and Moravia, two among the many constituencies of the Austrian Empire, do not occupy a large space. Why then this review of such antecedents? Because history is not a rope of sand, a mere aggregation of facts.

[1] *Die Perle der böhmischen Reformation.* Czerwenka I, Vor xi.

Herrnhut is a result, not simply a beginning. No isolated beginning can be found this side of Eden. The Unitas Fratrum, in its missionary development, has continuity with former generations and with the other side of the Giant Mountains. That long and bitter schooling of Moravian Brethren, with its four distinct persecutions, had preparatory reference to a work which is now upon the second century of its noble fulfillment. Severity of discipline imparted Christian firmness and transparency. Upon their character, patterns of self-sacrifice and endurance, traced like figures on their own beautiful Bohemian glass, were made permanent in the furnace of fiery trials.

LECTURE II.

COUNT ZINZENDORF.

COUNT ZINZENDORF.

FIRST-RATE men are a formative power in their times; second-rate men are formed by their times. No great movement in society or in the church takes place without a superior mind to lead and give it shape. Whenever God would set in motion a far-reaching enterprise, whenever he would bring about a reformation, political, philanthropic or religious, he raises up some agent specially fitted for the work. Is Holland to be liberated, or Italy reunited? William the Silent and Count Cavour appear on the stage. When evangelical religion is to be revived in England, prison discipline to be reformed, the slave-trade abolished, the Order of Deaconesses restored, and the "Inner Mission" established, Whitefield and Wesley, Howard, Clarkson, Fliedner, Wichern are at hand. To this category belongs Count Zinzendorf. If persistence in lofty aims, if unflagging zeal for the highest good of others, if consecration to the ministry of Christian ideas in advance of one's age, if imparting a valuable impulse and impress which abide through generations constitute greatness, then was he, despite of certain imperfections and mis-

takes, a great man. Abuse did not sour him, nor did difficulties daunt him. Though he stands at the head of Moravian writers, his life is greater than his writings; it has proved germinant and fruitful. He was not only a statesman, an ecclesiastical administrator, a poet and preacher, but also a missionary. As his influence upon the Renewed Church of the United Brethren at the outset of their foreign work was in a high degree plastic, satisfactory acquaintance with their missions requires that we make his character and course a study.

Belonging to an Austrian house of high antiquity, Count Zinzendorf could look back upon twenty generations to the founder, Ehrenhold. It was one of twelve families on which, in the eleventh century, the Austrian dynasty depended for support. His grandfather, in leaving Austria for conscience sake, left all his estates behind him. His father entered the service of the Elector of Saxony at Dresden, and died six months after the birth of this son, May 26, 1700. He was a man of decided piety. Spener, the Electress of Saxony and the Electress Palatinate stood as sponsors to the child at his baptism. Upon the second marriage of his mother, Zinzendorf, while yet a mere child, was left to the care of his grandmother, the Baroness von Gersdorf, who lived in the Castle of Gross-Hennersdorf, from which Herrnhut is distant only a league. We will

linger a moment at the old ancestral pile, as it now stands. It is sadly dilapidated. A forester occupies a part of the basement on one side of the court. Silence and decay reign in the halls. We are shown the window, out of which when a boy, Zinzendorf, with childlike simplicity, tossed letters addressed to the Saviour, telling him how his heart felt toward him, in the hope that his heavenly Friend might find them. At that time, a century and three quarters ago, this manorial seat was the abode of comfort, and a certain amount of elegance and opulence.

The chief ornament of the place was the Baroness von Gersdorf. A woman of superior mind and culture, she read the Bible in its original languages, composed hymns in German and Latin, and in the last-named language carried on correspondence with Spener, Franke, Von Canstein and other learned men. Her Christian character, decided in its tone, took on the type of Pietism in its initial and better period. An aunt who was also in the family, prayed with the lad morning and evening. His earliest boyhood revealed noteworthy traits, for even at that period he began to hold intimate communion with the Lord Jesus, a practice which continued through life. When the army of Charles XII of Sweden was in Saxony, a party of soldiers intruding themselves into the Castle of Hennersdorf, and into the room where the Count, only six years old,

was at prayer, were so impressed by the earnestness of his devotions that they paused in silence, and soon withdrew. It was in his fourth year that he began earnestly to seek after God; and while yet a child he framed a covenant which ran thus: "Be thou mine, dear Saviour, and I will be thine;" and it was often renewed afterwards. His chief delight seemed to be in showing kindness to others; and he would deem nothing valuable to himself which another needed more.

At ten years of age Zinzendorf entered the Royal Pædagogium of Halle, then under the care of Augustus Hermann Franke. Here his habits of devotion and his interest in practical benevolence gained further strength. So active had he been in establishing circles for prayer, that on leaving Halle (1716) he handed Professor Franke a list of seven such societies. Religious activity had not interfered with his studies, for at that age, sixteen, he could compose a Greek oration, and speak extemporaneously in Latin, on subjects given out at the time. He next joined the University of Wittenberg, the design of an uncle who had charge of his education being to withdraw him from the religious atmosphere of Halle, which it was feared might indispose him for the worldly position then in mind. Family friends anticipating for him civil promotion such as his father had achieved, the young Count was matriculated as student of jurisprudence. That course being

distasteful, he desired to devote himself to Biblical studies; yet yielded dutifully to the commands of relatives. In the comparative seclusion and want of Christian fellowship at Wittenberg, his inner experience became for a time more legalistic; he fell into somewhat rigorous asceticism, devoting much time to fasting, and whole nights to prayer, as did Wesley and Whitefield a few years later at Oxford; while the religious fraternities which he had formed at the Pædagogium also remind us of the Oxford Methodists. Zinzendorf gave himself, however, with much industry to his studies, and before leaving the University delivered lectures to some young men on the civil law. Although a youth of only eighteen, he attempted to mediate between the contending theologians of Wittenberg and Halle; his mediation was accepted; and but for the needless interference of his private tutor, important results might have followed. Such a character, such a development was all the more remarkable, considering the class to which he belonged, and the age in which he lived, that of a century and a half ago. "In these corrupt times," said Spener, "it seems to men well-nigh impossible to bring up children, especially of the higher rank, as Christians."

Between two and three years having been spent at Wittenberg in the study of law, theology, Hebrew and related departments, he began his

travels, which according to the custom of the day, constituted a necessary part of the education of a young nobleman. The tour then made both disclosed and confirmed his traits. Holland and France were the countries principally to be visited. Aware that powerful temptations would await him, he resolved firmly to maintain his Christian position, and hence wrote — a suggestive declaration for young tourists — "If the object of my being sent to France is to make me a man of the world, I declare that this is money thrown away; for God will, in his goodness, preserve in me the desire to live only for Jesus Christ." His soul seemed to be uniformly lifted above earthly things. In the Düsseldorf Gallery of paintings his attention was drawn, with marked effect, to a wonderfully expressive *Ecce Homo*, over which were the words:

> "This have I done for thee:
> What doest thou for me?"[1]

On his nineteenth birthday he arrived at Utrecht, and there spent some months in attending lectures in the law department and also in the study of medicine. Thence he went to France. The Count's noble birth entitled him to admission into the higher circles of Parisian society; in person and manners he was sufficiently attractive

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[1] *Hoc feci pro te,*
Quid facis pro me?

to be sought for; yet would he make no compromise of Christian consistency; would neither gamble nor dance at court, nor become intimate with any one who appeared unworthy of confidence. "Good evening, Count," said a Duchess; "were you at the opera last evening?" "No, madame," he replied, "I have no time to go to the opera." An attempt was made by Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, to convert him to the Roman Catholic faith; but the young man did not waver any more than when the same thing was attempted previously at the Hague. Others tried to corrupt his morals; but no blandishments and no arguments could make him swerve from his loyalty to simple scripture truths, which had been well weighed and settled in his convictions. Such institutions as the Hotel Dieu were far more attractive to him than the splendors of Versailles. "Oh, brilliant wretchedness!"[1] he exclaims, as some others have done on leaving Paris.

His strong desire, cherished from childhood, was to devote himself exclusively to the cause of Christ;[2] and during a visit at Halle, he was offered the position which had been held by the deceased Baron von Canstein, who established the first institution for circulating the Bible; but

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[1] *O splendida miseria!*

[2] *Ich habe von Kindheit auf ein Feuer in meinen Beinen die ewige Gottheit Jesus zu predigen.* **Theol. Bedenk. (1742), 122.**

his relatives would not listen to this. They had destined him for the service of the king of Saxony; and his principle of filial obedience, a principle much stronger then and now in Germany than in our country, led to the sacrifice of his own preferences without a murmur. Yielding to family pressure, he accepted the position of Aulic and Justicial Counselor at Dresden. The Saxon Court under Augustus the Strong was a center where any man of piety would not fail to have his righteous soul vexed. When he entered upon this high position, Zinzendorf's chief solicitude was the safety of his own soul and the salvation of others. He became a Daniel at court, keeping the windows of his chamber open towards Jerusalem. Faithful in civil trusts, he was yet chiefly assiduous in testifying to the grace of God in Jesus Christ. Religious meetings were held at his house with open doors; and a singular spectacle it was, to see a young man wearing a sword as a badge of his rank, yet preaching the gospel of peace. Seekers of salvation were the persons whom he chiefly sought; and no barrier could keep him away from those, whatever their social position, who loved the Lord Jesus. Against the advice of friends, and with the known disapprobation of king and court, he declined to attend upon the fashionable amusements of Dresden. Desire for civil promotion had no place in his heart; indeed he pleaded

against it. While at Dresden he also occupied leisure hours with editing a periodical called *The German Socrates*, in which he reproved the prejudices and immoralities of his fellow-citizens. The time had now come for the Count to enter formally upon the possession of his paternal inheritance; but as difficulties arose relating to sums due on certain of his estates, he waived his right, rather than resort to litigation; and then, purchasing Berthelsdorf, received homage as lord of the manor (May 19, 1722). The revenue from this manor he set apart in aid of the Moravians; and as might be expected, was intent upon the religious welfare of his vassals on the newly-acquired estate.

Resigning his place at the Saxon Court, Zinzendorf was now at liberty to follow the bent of his heart. Those impoverished exiles from Bohemia, of whom a sketch was given in the previous lecture, enlisted his lively sympathies. Much time was devoted to their spiritual instruction and comfort; nor did he shrink from the humblest services. This congregation of fugitives he regarded as "a parish destined for him from eternity;" and never did a band of Christian fugitives find more generous or more efficient guardianship. Their ecclesiastical constitution, their social relations and habits in their new home were yet to be formed; and his hand, guided by ardent piety, became apparent in the

constitution, usages and spirit of the young colony. The arrangement of *choirs*, so called — a distribution of the community into separate classes — and of religious meetings, fast days, love feasts and night watches; a system for continuous prayer, after the manner of the Acœmitæ of the fifth century, and for the instruction of young men, were among matters that engaged his devout interest. The second Saturday of each month was devoted to supplication for children.

The first settlement of exiles from Bohemia on Zinzendorf's estate took place in his absence; his connection with them was purely providential, and the direction which he sought to give their affairs was not the result of any previous plan, but such an outgrowth of divine ordering as led him ever afterward to pronounce it the work of God. The Count's earliest personal introduction among the Brethren occurred during a visit to the estate on his marriage tour.[1] Evening had come; and while passing, he notices a light in a dwelling which had been built during his ab-

[1] Dr. Philip Doddridge, in a letter to Dr. Samuel Clark (1737), speaking of Zinzendorf and the Moravians, makes numerous mistakes, and among them this: they "were discovered by their unknown Lord of the Manor, the Count, as he rode one morning hunting." *Correspondence and Diary*, III, 262. There is not the slightest foundation in fact for this statement; and yet it has as much foundation as the allegations in sundry other writers which reflect upon the Count.

sence. Being told that it was the house of the refugees from Moravia, he leaves the carriage, enters, gives them a hearty welcome, and then kneels with them in earnest prayer, commending them to God.

In 1737 Zinzendorf was ordained a bishop of the Moravian Church. In his former capacity, that of deacon or catechist, he labored subordinately to Pastor Rothe, whom he had himself presented to the living of Berthelsdorf, a Lutheran Church, and within whose parish Herrnhut was at that time included. But as Superintendent or Warden, Zinzendorf had a responsibility for Moravians not only at this, their center, but in the various settlements which from time to time sprang up in different parts of the continent. Discordant elements had come together. There were fugitive colonists of different nationalities, with no resources, but with convictions deeply fixed; while to them were added accessions of floating dissentients from the then prevailing spirit and life of Germany, many of them as narrow-minded as they were devout. In one instance, on receiving a number of persons to the church, Zinzendorf found that no two of them belonged to the same nationality, one being a native of Poland, another of Hungary, a third of Switzerland, the fourth an Englishman, the fifth a Swede, the sixth a Livonian and the seventh a German. To fuse materials so diverse into an harmonious body required consummate tact

and patience. Nothing less than his Christian love could furnish the needed solvent. His plan, however, was not to organize a distinct sect, but to gather little circles or communities of renewed persons — *ecclesiolæ in ecclesia*, an Israel within Israel — much after the ideas of Spener, ideas which governed the early Wesleyan practice in England, so long as avowed separation from the Established Church was discountenanced. He discouraged formal withdrawment from the Lutheran or the Reformed Church, but aimed to win souls to Christ, and to build them up in faith and love within existing communities.[1] Colonies or communities of the Unitas Fratrum were to some extent encouraged by ruling powers; and wherever formed, Zinzendorf sought acquaintance with the individual members, and labored diligently for their good, as well as for a wise administration of the entire body. Distasteful and repulsive surroundings never dampened his zeal. The Ronneberg Castle,[2] for instance, was a place so forbidding that his friend Christian David advised against going there. "Have you not been in Greenland, Christian?" said the Count. "Yes, if it were only Greenland!" replied his friend. He took up his abode there for a time;

[1] The circumstances under which Herrnhut originated forbade making a creed the basis of union; Christian love rather than doctrine became the vital bond.

[2] Thirty-five miles from Frankfort-on-the-Main.

and at once set about providing religious instruction for the rude and neglected people of the neighborhood. He established schools for poor children, whom he clothed and fed at his own expense. But his fidelity as a witness to Christ's cross and crown was not limited to the humble; he testified before kings. To a royal princess of Denmark he said (1731): "Christians are God's people, begotten of his Spirit, obedient to him, enkindled by his fire; his blood is their glory. Before the majesty of the betrothed of God, kingly crowns grow pale; a hut to them becomes a palace. Sufferings under which heroes would pine are gladly borne by loving hearts which have grown strong through the cross."

At Herrnhut and elsewhere, revivals of marked character sometimes occurred, one such in 1727, when, after a good deal of discussion, a remarkable spirit of love and union was manifested. "The whole place," says Zinzendorf, "represented truly a visible tabernacle of God among men, and till the thirteenth of August there was nothing to be seen and heard but joy and gladness; then this uncommon joy subsided, and a calmer sabbatic period succeeded." A marked simultaneous experience was noted by certain Brethren at the Orphan House in Sablat, beginning on the same day.

In journeying from place to place, and at different resting places, Zinzendorf sometimes had a

retinue of fifty persons, his immediate family, associates in office, religious helpers and other attendants, constituting a Pilgrim or Missionary Church,[1] a "church in the house," which maintained regular religious worship as well as engaged in local Christian work. This was everywhere an "Inner Mission," a home mission, though a very expensive arrangement.

Wherever he was, the Count improved opportunities for preaching. His delight was to bear witness to the love of Christ, and to enlarge upon some essential point of vital religion, which enters alike into the experience of every spiritually-minded Christian. A suggestion by him to other ministers was well observed by himself: "In order to preach aright," says the Count, "take three looks before every sermon: one at the depth of thy wretchedness, another at the depth of human wretchedness all around thee, and a third at the love of God in Jesus; so that, empty of self, and full of compassion towards thy fellow-men, thou mayest be able to administer God's comfort to souls." His sermons, always extem-

[1] The literal translation of the German name *Pilger-gemeine*, the one adopted by Count Zinzendorf, is a *congregation of pilgrims;* but as the use of the term is more limited in the English than in the German language, and consequently liable to be misunderstood by an English reader, the author has substituted the word *Missionary*, which in its present application contains a more correct idea of this institution. *Holmes's History*, I, 265, note.

poraneous and never written out by himself, were often taken down in short-hand quite inaccurately; and being published without revision, sometimes did him great injustice. There were occasions when he discoursed with great power, and hearers were affected to tears. In Berlin, the street where such meetings were held was often lined with coaches. Those discourses, translated into various languages and widely scattered, would authorize the Count to say: "Berlin was only my pulpit; the sermons are for all the world." Zinzendorf aimed to keep close to the Bible; in later years he read but few other books. "The theology of blood" was a phrase of his own, and the great atoning sacrifice continued to be his principal theme of discourse. To the spirit of religious extravagance — amounting, indeed, to a practical monomania at the "Sifting Period," so called (1744–1749) — he unwittingly contributed; but no sooner was that tendency discovered than he set about correcting the evil, and the complete recovery of himself and the Brethren from such an infection is a rare instance of the kind, and shows a prevailing soundness of heart and understanding.

We must linger for a little on that brief period to which allusion has been made. The theology of Zinzendorf and of the Unitas Fratrum, then at least, was too much a theology of feeling. Dwelling sometimes almost excessively on the

sufferings of Christ and on the purely physical accompaniments of those sufferings; concentrating thought thereon, and in a fanciful manner; not duly considering the balanced method, the sobriety of Scripture representation, they fell into the use of imagery and phraseology that were nauseous to men of sound sense and correct taste. A stream of sentimentalism, maudlin and puerile, was poured forth for a time. Exaggerated and ill-directed emotion issued finally in a sort of infectious fanaticism. It was like the disease known as fatty degeneration of the heart; and it spread for awhile into many of the continental communities, measurably also to those of England, though not to communities in our own country.

That brief period of deterioration carries with it a warning for all other Christian communities and assemblies, relative to indulgence in overwrought feeling, and to excessive use of sensuous imagery. The Bible is the most thoroughly conservative book in the world, and its æsthetic tone is most divinely healthful; but its benign power resides in the contents as a whole, not in any pet passage, and especially not in a distorted setting forth of one truth, however valuable, apart from scriptural and logical limitations. On the other hand, how much will the Lord overlook in a church or an individual holding to the prime fact of salvation through our adorable Redeemer

alone, and of vital union by faith to him, a union evinced practically in the life!

It should be kept in mind that none have criticised or deplored that season of mawkish enthusiasm more than Moravians themselves; yet it helped to create a permanent prejudice. Not much, however, is it to the credit of men in other communions that they should continue to fling in the face of a church — which now for more than a century has held on its way in irreproachable sobriety — as a living blemish, that which was buried so long ago, and over whose moss-covered tombstone none grieve more sincerely than the men of Herrnhut themselves. Extremely unfair is it to adduce the hymns of that exceptional endemic, in proof of permanent maladies among the United Brethren. Imperfectly as Robert Southey, for example, could appreciate Wesley and the Methodists, still less could he appreciate Zinzendorf and the Moravians. But nothing is more spicy, more difficult to arrest, than popular calumny; nothing dies so hard a death.

In London some of the early Moravians, from 1739 to 1749, were not the most favorable representatives of the life and spirit of Herrnhut. A portion of them fell into Antinomianism and by anticipation into Plymouth Brethrenism. They indulged in sentimentalities, became self-involved, self-conceited, censorious; were greatly lacking in breadth and Christian manliness. They were

a different set of men from those with whom Wesley crossed the Atlantic in 1736, whose perfect composure and whose song of praise amidst a terrific storm, when the English passengers were screaming with terror, so impressed him. Nor were a majority of those in England at that period fair specimens of the community at Marienborn, as it was when Wesley wrote to his brother Samuel (1738): "God has given me at length the desire of my heart. I am with a church whose conversation is in heaven; in whom is the mind that was in Christ, and who so walk as he walked. As they have all one Lord and one faith, so they are all partakers of one Spirit — the Spirit of meekness and love, which uniformly and continually animates all their conversation." Nor did the English Moravians of the decade now spoken of illustrate the sobriety of the parent community at Herrnhut, to which, after his return from the Continent, he wrote: "Glory be to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for giving me to be an eye-witness of your faith, and love, and holy conversation in Christ Jesus!"[1]

At a later date difficulties arose; and Wesley, not without reason, severed his connection with the United Brethren in England. Whitefield, in

[1] His visit to Herrnhut no doubt suggested to Wesley the love feasts, division of members into classes, and class meetings, which he not long after adopted.

his customary haste of judgment, wrote criticisms which he might better have withheld. It was unfortunate that the whole body of the Moravians should come under consequent censure. Two such men as Zinzendorf and Wesley, men of commanding talent, of great independence, of great will-power, and both born to rule, seldom get on well together, for any length of time, this side of New Jerusalem. It was Greek meeting Greek. The former carried a noble, genial countenance which, with his person and majestic bearing, would attract notice on the streets of Berlin, Amsterdam and London. Under all his humility, which was genuine, you could still see the German nobleman. At times, though not often, he seemed imperious and harsh. He was impressible and impulsive. John Wesley was marvelously self-poised; had rare perspicacity; had clear-cut Anglo-Saxon sense, which needs much grace when it has to deal with mystic Germanism. Each had a purpose, compact and consistent; each by his position was obliged to be autocratic; but Wesley exacted the more unqualified submission. That feature of administration, required at the time in each case, would not now be tolerated in either. To a high degree Zinzendorf possessed the power of organizing men; Wesley the power of organizing men and ideas; Whitefield possessed neither in any unusual measure. Wesley was a theologian; Zinzendorf was not. The

writings of the one are characterized by great purity and precision of style; the other's writings are sometimes obscure, often bizarre. But let this dead past remain in its tomb. Was all New England tainted with the vagaries of Anne Hutchinson? Or, had that been true, would it detract from the present soundness and sobriety of our churches, after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years? Was it a legitimate petition of the Psalmist: "Oh, Lord! remember not the sins of my youth;" and may not every church in Christendom well pray that the mistakes of their early days be not remembered against them by sister churches?[1]

The Count's authorship was prolific — about a hundred and fifty publications making their appearance, chiefly in the German language, though sundry tracts were in Latin, French and English. His style, that of the period, often exhibits an admixture of terms from classical and modern languages. His writings bear the stamp

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[1] In the providence of God it was well that Seifferth dissuaded Wesley from joining the Moravian church in Georgia, telling him that God had given him a different calling in which he might become more useful. But it is particularly unfortunate that Wesley in his day, and that in our day Tyerman, author of the excellent work, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, should, like some others, give credence to a pamphlet by Henry Rimius, entitled, *A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhutters*, etc. Rimius was a bitter and untruthful enemy of the Unitas Fratrum.

of originality; yet owing in part to the vividness of his imagination, are not free from singularities and irregularities. Zinzendorf is the Charles Wesley of the United Brethren and of Germany in his time; his poetical effusions number more than two thousand. Beginning at twelve years of age, he composed hymns with the greatest ease; indeed, would not unfrequently extemporize one in connection with worship; and — what is yet more singular — he could easily sing extemporaneous hymns without previous reflection, and was known to improvise eight in a single day. Such a habit could not fail to become a snare; carelessness with regard to poetic form and finish was inevitable. Yet it must be confessed that few have tuned the harp to a more fervid celebration of redeeming love.

His imagination, lively though not perfectly disciplined, drew him toward the mystical, and but for a quick discernment, and his concentrated practical spirit, might have betrayed him into wild excess. Versatile in genius, his career sometimes bordering upon the romantic, the Count still showed statesmanlike qualities. He understood men, and had a wide acquaintance with princes, noblemen, university professors, as well as peasants and artisans, persons of divergent belief and various nationalities; and his vigorous pursuit of definite benevolent aims kept him from wasting strength in visionary schemes. His in-

dustry was indefatigable. Even during the last four months of his life, with bodily powers much reduced, he delivered one hundred and twenty discourses, besides composing hymns and attending to various duties. The minute superintendence of communities numerous and widely separated—in Germany, where were eleven, in Russia, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, England, not to mention missionary stations that were multiplying—and the direction of interests so various, ecclesiastical, civil, educational, financial, did not prevent patient labor with individuals. Journeying or stationary, on land or on shipboard, he still looked for opportunities to lead particular souls to Christ.

As regards pecuniary concerns, Zinzendorf did not practice due caution. Confiding in others, sometimes in those who were incompetent or indiscreet; generous almost to a fault, he allowed himself to come under obligations beyond his means; and so his estate became heavily encumbered. The Count's own habits were anything but self-indulgent, immediate personal expenses not exceeding fifty pounds a year.[1] No one could be farther removed than Zinzendorf from hypocrisy, and from attempts at concealing his own defects. Once perceived by himself, his

[1] "No one can say," he remarked late in life, "that I have made myself rich. For many years I have not been worth a hundred *Thalers* at one time."

errors and mistakes were readily acknowledged. He exhibited an unusual combination of gentle kindliness and firmness. Like Athanasius *contra mundum*, Zinzendorf, in matters of principle and of conscience, fulfilled the family motto, "I yield to none; neither to one, nor to all."[1] "If God will employ me in his kingdom, I will bid defiance to the whole world;" so he spoke, so he acted. He was not a vehement disputant, but usually respected the opinions of others; and for a man in his position, not averse to the exercise of power, nor to the energetic maintenance of official jurisdiction, he was unusually tolerant. A friend of religious liberty and an enemy of persecution, his sympathies in behalf of the injured were always prompt.

Never was a man more thoroughly calumniated. Good men sometimes distrusted and abused him; while the enemies of a cross-bearing piety poured forth streams of envenomed libels. "It was just as it frequently happens," said Bishop Spangenberg, "in small towns, when any one cries 'Fire!' many people run out of their houses into the streets and also cry 'Fire!' often without knowing whether there is a fire, or where it is." The Bishop counted up accusations amounting to more than seventeen hundred, which, together with the answers and appendices, were printed

[1] *Ich weiche nicht, nicht einem, nicht allen.*

in three quarto volumes (1751). King Frederick William of Prussia, having been prejudiced against him, made personal investigation continuing through five days, and then declared that the Count's only crime was that, being a person of noble rank, he had devoted himself to the ministry. "The devils in hell," said the monarch, "could not have fabricated worse lies." "Towers are measured," says a Chinese proverb, "by their shadows, and great men by those who are envious of them."

But how did Zinzendorf bear slander? While few have encountered a greater amount of detraction, still fewer have borne it with a temper more truly Christian. Personal attacks he passed by, to repel attacks upon the loyalty of Herrnhut and upon truth and evangelical Christianity. As regards the intrusion of civil government into the domain of religious belief, he was far in advance of his times; and, naturally, advocates of the divine right of kings and the union of Church and State, pronounced his views to be subversive of the State. Even a ten years' banishment from his estates and from Herrnhut, the center of his official and affectionate interest, procured through false accusations by his enemy, Count Brühl, called forth no invectives and no wailings. Reputation might suffer; character shone all the brighter. His forbearance and meekness under injuries were truly Christ-

like; and he was finally vindicated. In the drawing-room of Hennersdorf, there met, in the year 1749, a Royal Commission sent down by the Saxon government at Zinzendorf's request. It was the third commission of the kind. Every facility was afforded for inquiry into the doctrines and manner of life at Herrnhut, and into the Count's relations to the Brethren. As in each previous instance, Zinzendorf and the Moravians were completely exonerated; and one of his bitterest opponents, who had publicly maligned him, became an ardent friend.

It should be stated, however, that the Count lived and acted under much excitement; that his mental operations were rapid; his decisions quickly formed; and, whatever might stand in the way, he went straight to the execution of them. Occasional excess and indiscretion were matters of course. But all men of strong character and of independent opinions must have peculiarities, not to say eccentricities, in the eye of the average man.[1] Men devoid of genius, phlegmatic, governed by selfish prudence or by the dominant worldliness of that age, were sure to discern only singularities in his conduct. To turn one's back on the gayeties of court, surrendering civil dignities, making one's self all things

[1] *Il n'appartient qu'aux grands hommes d'avoir de grands défauts.* La Rochefoucauld.

to all men that he might save some, was too apostolic and too strange a thing then not to be deemed a proof of mental unsoundness. To the average Christian in any decayed church such a character will seem an offensive enigma. Thanks that in our day it is no anomaly for a nobleman to devote himself to evangelistic labors! We are glad to be contemporary with Lord Radstock, Lord Carrick, Lord Kintore, Lord Polwarth, Lord Alfred Churchill, brother of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Adalbert Cecil, brother of the Marquis of Exeter, and the Earl of Cavan, who, though unordained, have engaged in the work of preaching.

Preëminently was Zinzendorf a man of faith and prayer; but devotion to Christ is the chief jewel in that crown which must be awarded to him. Intimate communion with the Lord Jesus and loyalty to him characterized the Count from childhood onward. At the dawn of manhood he wrote: "I would rather be despised and hated for the sake of Jesus, than be beloved for my own sake." At a later period: "I am, as ever, a poor sinner, a captive of eternal love, running by the side of His triumphal chariot, and have no desire to be anything else as long as I live." "I have one passion," he exclaims in a sermon at Herrnhut, "and it is He, He alone!"—a motto which the late Professor Tholuck, on entering the department of Divinity at Halle, adopted as his

own — *Ich hab' eine Passion, und die est Er, nur Er.* Toil and obloquy could not make him other than a happy man. As on his journey to the Russian Province of Livonia so might he often have testified: "All the way to Riga I swam in peace and joy in the Lord, and walked on the shores of the Baltic with a delighted heart."

Such was Count Zinzendorf, one of the most remarkable personages of modern times. Unostentatious in spirit, his life dramatic, he was the Protestant Loyola of that day; in his remarkable career supremely devoted to the only Mediator between God and men. He was founder and leader, true to one high aim from childhood till the day of his death, at threescore years (1760). Ignatius Loyola once said to Xavier: "Eternity alone, Francis, is sufficient for such a heart as yours; its kingdom of glory alone is worthy of it. Be ambitious; be magnanimous; but level at the loftiest mark." Moved by the Holy Spirit, Nicholas von Zinzendorf, when a youth of nineteen, could say: "Eternity alone fills my thoughts;" and at the same age, amidst the seductions of foreign travel, he adopts for his motto *Æternitati.*[1]

We turn to the Count's more immediate part in Moravian evangelistic movements. That

[1] *Le Comte de Zinzendorf*, par Felix Bovet. Liv. Prem.

which gave unity and grandeur to his life was an absorbing, persistent missionary zeal. While in the family of Professor Franke at Halle, he had opportunities to hear religious intelligence, and occasional opportunities to become acquainted with missionaries. From the time of entering school in Halle, at ten years of age, he formed successive associations of youths like-minded with himself, one of which took the name, *Senfkorn-Orden*—"The Order of the Grain of Mustard-Seed." Its members pledged themselves to confess Christ faithfully, to exercise love toward their neighbors, and to seek the conversion of others, both Jews and the heathen. The badge of the *Senfkorn-Orden* was a shield, with an *Ecce Homo*, and the inscription, "His wounds our healing." Among their insignia was a ring with this motto, "None of us liveth to himself alone." The very first article of that youthful confederation shows the bent of his heart, and was a prophecy of his future: "The members of our society will love the whole human family." During the stay of our young Count in Holland, he was making inquiries about unevangelized nations. In the history of foreign missions is there a fact more significant than that, years before Herrnhut had name or existence, a lad of fifteen, in a German University town, should be divinely led to entertain such thoughts — thoughts so foreign to the prevailing church spirit

of that period, and usually so foreign to this period of life, especially among the class in society to which young Zinzendorf belonged?

Noteworthy, also, is the fact of a coincidence in the year 1715. That was the year when a revival breath from heaven passed simultaneously over towns wholly disconnected and remote from one another, in Moravia and Bohemia. The all-wise God had Herrnhut in mind; and, in his gracious designs, Herrnhut was to be the cradle of missions. The men, humble, ill-informed, whom Divine Providence was preparing to guide thither as exiles, would require the influence of a superior, cultured, consecrated mind, so broadened as to take the headship of a new community which was to have its seat in Upper Lusatia, but to have its missions at the ends of the earth. For a prepared people, a prepared leader would be needed. At the very hour of spiritual quickening in those Tzech towns, this German youth of noble birth and high promise is under an inward impulse to attempt the salvation of many souls; and with a companion like-minded, the Baron von Watteville, he enters into a covenant concerning the conversion of the heathen, and especially such heathen as no one else would regard. For that period they were the men of the Williamstown haystack.

When Zinzendorf married it was "in the Lord," and with the concentrated purpose of making

domestic life auxiliary to his well-defined Christian aim. Concerning the Countess about to become his *fiancée*, he wrote: "She will have to cast all ideas of rank and quality to the winds, as I have done; for they are not things of divine institution, but inventions of human vanity. If she wishes to aid me she must give herself to what is the sole object of my life; namely, to win souls to Christ, and that in the midst of contempt and reproach." Upon their affiance they covenanted to stand ready, at a moment's warning from the Lord, to enter upon mission work, prepared to meet all the obloquy it involved.[1] In the Countess Erdmuth Dorothea, sister of his friend Henry XXIX, Count of Reuss, Zinzendorf found one fully in accord with his own religious sympathies, and fitted to coöperate in the noble work before him. Like his grandfather, who, in leaving Austria for the truth's sake, left earthly possessions behind him, he himself accepted the royal mandate of banishment (1736) in the firm belief that God's providence would make his exile subservient to the interests of the church and to the spread of the gospel. The result confirmed his conviction. "That place," said he, giving utterance to a beautiful sentiment — "that

[1] The covenant entered into with his bride, on the day of marriage, ran thus: *Auf des Herrn Wink alle Stunden den Pilgerstab in die Hand zu nehmen, und zu den Heiden zu gehen, um ihnen den Heiland zu predigen.*

place is our proper home where we have the greatest opportunity of laboring for our Saviour. Now we must collect a missionary congregation, and train laborers to go forth into all the world and preach Christ and his salvation." An educational institution was established in the Wetterau (1739), and it called forth Zinzendorf's hearty interest. It had special reference to mission work, and in his congregation were forty students from Jena, the greater part of whom became missionaries or preachers at home.

The year (1727) in which Zinzendorf obtained leave of absence from the Court of Saxony, and devoted himself more entirely to the interests of the Unitas Fratrum, was to them a year of memorable refreshing from on high; and also the year when four evangelistic movements were made by them on the Continent of Europe — to Voigtland, Saalfeld, Denmark and Hungary. The next year more distant countries, Lapland, Turkey and Ethiopia, are spoken of. The practicability of evangelizing Greenlanders, negro slaves and other rude and remote peoples, is discussed; and though no encouragement appears to present itself, the Count feels sure that a door will be opened to them into heathendom. Two or more years later the Count revisits Copenhagen at the coronation of Christian VI of Denmark — with whom, as with many of the royal houses of Germany, he

was connected by marriage — and one result is that information comes to Herrnhut which deeply interests certain members of the Unity. After hearing those statements, a young man, Leonhard Dober, cannot sleep that night, so deeply has he been impressed by the thought of a call to mission work in St. Thomas. Another young man, Tobias Leupold, is also moved, independently of his friend Dober, to consecrate himself to this work. The two men were at the time working with pick and spade on the Hutberg; and, having first earnestly sought divine guidance, they made known their thoughts to one another. The evening of the same day, and before communicating their desire to any one else, Dober and Leupold, with a company who are accustomed to go round the village singing hymns, pass Zinzendorf's door. The Count comes to the door with a clerical friend,[1] then visiting him, to whom he remarks: "Sir, among these brethren there are missionaries to the heathen in St. Thomas, Greenland," etc. This coincidence leads the two young men to make known their thoughts to the Count by letter, who in turn encourages them, recommending that the matter be committed to the Lord for direction. The spirit which originated the "Order of the Grain of Mustard-Seed" has not abated, but is about to bring forth its first foreign

[1] Pastor Schäffer of Görlitz.

fruit. In their letter, the names not attached, communicated to the congregation, they avow their readiness to sacrifice life in the service of Christ, and, if need be, sell themselves into bondage, in order that they might save one soul. From this declaration has arisen the traditional statement that some of the Brethren actually sold themselves as slaves in order to gain access to that abject class — a transaction which never occurred.[1]

The proposal of the two young men was not at first received with any marked favor by the church generally, who deemed it at least premature. So was the proposition of William Carey, sixty years afterwards, to consider "the duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the gospel among heathen nations," and Dr. Ryland exclaimed, "Young man, sit down!" In Scotland the opinion was publicly expressed (1796) that the General Assembly ought decisively to oppose the formation of missionary societies. When the American Board was formed (1810), the prevailing sentiment among Congregational churches proved to be adverse to any such scheme. Similar was the case with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816–1819. The earliest of those just

[1] A statement to that effect has often been made. Even so careful a writer as Prof. H. B. Hackett says: "Some of the Moravian missionaries sold themselves into slavery that they might preach to slaves." See *Lange on Philemon*, 28.

named, however, that of the English Baptists, was more than half a century after German Moravians had demonstrated the practicability of success in this line of Christian effort.

The Count's evangelistic zeal was far beyond that of his period, and especially as regards men of his own rank. "Thanks," said a contemporary of his in England, the Countess of Huntingdon, "thanks for the letter *m* in that passage, 'Not many noble are called.'" Among Zinzendorf's countrymen it had not indeed been true that not *any* noblemen stood forth conspicuously as witnesses for Christ. There was Christopher, Duke of Würtemberg, in the sixteenth century, a man who loved God's Word, who loved prayer, and sought the highest welfare of his people; and at the same period, Frederick III, Elector Palatine, deservedly surnamed the Pious. The seventeenth century presents us another Prince, rightfully called the Pious — Ernst, Duke of Saxony. We must, however, advance to the eighteenth century to find a nobleman dedicating his entire time and possessions to the service of our Saviour, and making it the sole aim of life, by personal efforts, at home and abroad, to win the largest possible number of souls to Christ, and that, too, in a period of general religious decline, and for many years a time of war. From childhood onward, lip and life were thus consecrated. No other German, neither Gossner of Berlin, nor Harms of

Hermannsburg, has been engaged in sending out missionaries to so many countries. In his day he was the John Howard of foreign evangelism. If called upon to name an utterance of modern times, which, in view of all circumstances, indicates the broadest, clearest, most sympathetic apprehension of apostolic evangelism, should we not repeat this one of the Count?[1] — "The whole earth is the Lord's; men's souls are all his; I am debtor to all." Well entitled is Zinzendorf's bust to the place it holds among the great men of Germany, in the Walhalla near Ratisbon. With the closing words of his epitaph let this lecture close: "He was ordained that he should bring forth fruit, and that his fruit should remain."

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[1] At a Church Conference in Holland, 1741.

LECTURE III.

MISSION TO THE WEST INDIES.

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THE birth of great men and the beginning of great movements will make any year noteworthy. Seventeen hundred and thirty-two gave to America George Washington; to France Lalande, the celebrated astronomer; to Germany Adelung, the eminent philologist, and Haydn, the eminent composer. In the history of gospel propagation there are two events of special significance which take us back to the Fatherland and to the year just named. It was in seventeen hundred and thirty-two that the missionary Schultze completed a translation of the New Testament into Hindustani, and that the first foreign enterprise of the Moravians had its rise. Only ten years had elapsed since the earlier fugitives from Bohemia settled at Herrnhut, and their census showed a population of but six hundred souls, old and young — a number exceeded by the membership in some of our local churches; yet — few, poor, isolated as they were — they undertook a mission beyond sea.

A negro slave of Cortez, finding three grains of wheat among the rice which had been brought from Europe to provision the Spanish army, was

the first to introduce that valuable product into New Spain; a slave also became the occasion of introducing the incorruptible seed of the gospel into the West Indies. When, as mentioned in the last lecture, Count Zinzendorf was at Copenhagen, attending the coronation of King Christian VI, some of his attendants met a negro named Anthony, in the service of Count Lauervig, who dwelt upon the sad condition of Africans in St. Thomas, and particularly that of his sister, who was desirous of being taught the true religion. This man afterwards visited Herrnhût, and a simultaneous desire was kindled independently in the hearts of two young men to devote themselves to gospel work among the slaves. One of the two, Leonhard Dober, was a potter by trade; and with him was associated David Nitschmann, a carpenter,[1] who was to accompany Dober to the field, and then return. Their funds amounted to a trifle over three dollars apiece. Count Zinzendorf took them in his carriage as far as Bautzen, and then, with a blessing, bade them Godspeed. A bundle on the back their only luggage, they set out thence on foot for the capital of Denmark, a distance of six hundred miles. Pious persons, on whom they called by the way, tried to dissuade them, the devout Countess of Stol-

[1] The Rev. E. Garbett speaks mistakenly as if both of them were potters by trade.

berg at Wernigerode, a third of the distance to Copenhagen, being the only one who spoke an encouraging word. But special service for God never fails of special help from God. They reach Copenhagen, though only to meet with great difficulties at first, ridicule and opposition, very much as, fourteen years before (1718), Hans Egede did at Bergen, while trying to find his way to Greenland. They were told that no captain would take them on board his ship; that, if they reached St. Thomas, they would be unable to support themselves. Frightful stories were related about the ferocity of the Caribs. The two Brethren did not argue the matter, and made but little effort to answer objections; they simply kept quietly about their business of trying to reach the West Indies, ready to go into slavery themselves in order to reach the negroes, as Anthony had represented would be necessary. An unseen hand was guiding, the Adorable Comforter was sustaining these devoted men. Their Christian constancy won favor, and at last efficient sympathy. The royal chaplains became interested; so did a few other high officials, who gave enough to pay their fare out, as well as to procure tools for carrying on their trades. Some members of the royal family, among them the queen, lent their aid. The Princess Amelia, unsolicited, gave them money toward their expenses, and a large Dutch Bible, which proved a seasonable gift; for, being

refused passage on any Danish ship, they were compelled to avail themselves of one from Holland, and embarked October 8, 1732. Here, too, as often, the good hand of God was visible in the very disappointment. St. Thomas had been in possession of the Netherlands; the negroes spoke Dutch, though an imperfect Dutch, and our missionaries now had opportunity, during their voyage, to learn the language which would be required in their work.

I need not say that the West India Islands form a group of rare interest; one of which, the advanced courier of a new world, was the first to greet the eye of Columbus. Physical aspect and conditions are such as to excite the imagination of Europeans even at the present day. Here are magnitude and prodigality of vegetable forms quite astonishing to men from the temperate zones — palm-leaves, one of which will cover four persons; the royal palm towering sometimes two hundred feet in the air; the gigantic cottonwood, whose trunk furnishes a canoe for fifty and even a hundred men. One of the canoes measured by Columbus was ninety-six feet in length.

The great mass of the inhabitants in our day are negroes, the minority being European planters and traders, who compose only seventeen per cent of a total population which exceeds three and a half millions. All the islands except Hayti belong to European powers; three of them to

Denmark. As the negro man Anthony came from St. Thomas, and as there was more of direct intercourse between Copenhagen and that island than any other, the two Moravians naturally went there. St. Thomas belongs to the cluster of Virgin Islands which form a connecting link between the Greater and the Less Antilles — the cluster numbering about fifty, yet having an aggregate area short of two hundred square miles. St. Thomas itself, with a superficies about the same as an average New England town, something over twenty square miles, and a population of over twenty thousand, has a precipitous coast-line; is elevated and rugged; not particularly fertile; not well supplied with water; indeed, toward the end of the dry season, drinking-water must be brought from St. Croix. As the trees are supposed to attract showers, no man is allowed to cut down a tree even on his own estate. At the present time, some of the great European steamship companies make it a center for their oceanic lines.

Dober and Nitschmann, the day after landing, went in search of Anthony's sister, and, finding the plantation where she lived with her husband and younger brother, they made known Anthony's salutation. By request, they opened and read his letter to her, in which occurred the quotation: "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ

whom thou has sent." Beginning then and there, they preached the gospel to heathen slaves who gathered round. Though the message was in German-Dutch, the negroes understood the drift of it, and clapped their hands for joy. They had hitherto supposed that good things were only for white people. While casting about to find how they might live at the smallest cost, a planter, Mr. Lorenzin, invited them to his house. Nitschmann, as a carpenter, was able to support himself and his associate; but Dober, unable to find suitable clay, could turn his trade to no good account. They improved every opportunity to instruct the blacks in divine things, and among those early awakened were Anthony's sister and her husband.

After some months, Nitschmann, according to previous arrangement, returned to Europe, but he left his little surplus of earnings for Dober's support. The latter was for a while employed by Governor Gardelin as tutor to his children and steward of his household. But the good missionary became satisfied it was not best for him to fare sumptuously, and devote only spare moments to the work of the Lord. He was right; to remain in that comfortable situation would have made his mission a failure. Though the Governor parted with him reluctantly, Dober left his service, and hired a little lodging in the village of Tappus,[1] where he acted as watchman on

[1] Taphuis = Taphouse.

neighboring plantations, which, with some other small services, enabled him to procure bread and water. He was now free to work for the Lord, and the Lord blessed him. After the departure of his associate, a year and four months passed before this Christian exile heard from Herrnhut. While he is sitting by a watchfire one evening, suddenly three men stand before him — one of them Tobias Leupold, the intimate friend who joined him three years before in a consecration to the foreign work. A vessel had just come in, bringing missionaries from Herrnhut, destined for this and the neighboring island of St. Croix. An appointment as General Elder at Herrnhut obliged Dober to return to Germany (1735).

After a while, opposition to the good work became pronounced; all intercourse of slaves with their teachers was rigorously forbidden; and, under false accusations, the latter were, amidst the sighs and tears of interested slaves, thrown into prison. On starting for the Fort (October 22, 1738), they sang a stanza to this effect: "Mercy is our guide; Mercy prepares the way. Hope opens the prospect of future bliss. Be firm! be firm!" The negroes kept up their meetings; they thronged around the windows of the jail, and, listening to prayers and singing within, would join in the same. "And the prisoners heard them." Suddenly Count Zinzendorf, ignorant of what was going on, arrived at St. Thomas (1739) with a

reinforcement, and, to his surprise, found all the missionaries in confinement. The next day, after more than three months of suffering, they were liberated, with apologies for their imprisonment. In the course of a very few days, the Count made himself sufficiently familiar with the Creole language to address the negroes, and to write some things for their benefit. But he became the object of rancorous enmity among "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort."[1] The planters raised a tumult, and would scatter the negroes by whipping and shooting them. One thing which they alleged was, that the blacks were likely to become better Christians than themselves[2] — an attainment not very improbable, and which would not necessarily imply any great moral elevation above barbarism. It was during this visit to the West Indies that Zinzendorf composed one of his best-known hymns, consisting of thirty-three stanzas,[3] a few of which are familiar to all through John Wesley's translation, beginning:

"Jesus, thy blood and righteousness."

He was highly gratified at the extent to which Christian labor had proved effectual. There were

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[1] *Wir waren keinen Tag unseres Lebens sicher. Sie wolten Herrn Carstens und mich todschlagen.* Zinzendorf.

[2] The same objection to Zinzendorf and the Moravians was raised in Germany: *Sie wollen die Leute zu besseren Christen machen als wir sind.*

[3] *Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit.*

at that time nine hundred concerned in some measure for the salvation of their souls, and the number was afterward largely increased. A part of them came every evening to be taught, all instruction being, of course, oral; but the general gathering was on Saturday evening, and they often remained in session till seven o'clock Sunday morning. Converts as well as teachers suffered cruel persecution; bonds and stripes to the last degree of severity were endured. The Moravians, obliged to work hard by day for their own support, at night would teach the slaves. Such being their devotedness, was it strange that, by-and-by, on one occasion forty, and on another ninety persons should receive baptism; and that three hundred and eighty should desire at one time to be enrolled as catechumens? Governors and masters found, at length, that the Christian religion was not a bad thing among slaves; for they were more easily managed and their price was enhanced. A West India proprietor, in the course of debate in the House of Commons, stated expressly that a negro member of the Brethren's Church had a considerably higher market value than an ordinary slave. So deeply had the preached word taken effect that Frederick Martin, a most excellent missionary, could write (1740): "Hardly a day passes on which we are not visited by persons bemoaning their sins and crying for mercy. When taking a walk, we hear

them pray and weep, one in a sugar-field, another behind a bush, and a third behind his hut, imploring the Lord to cleanse them from their sins and pollutions." One secret of Moravian successes here and elsewhere is, that the missionaries enter heartily into their work, and become deeply interested in those for whom they labor. The last letter written by one of them[1] on St. Thomas (1853) gives utterance to what is generally true among them: "Never did I love children as much as these poor negro children, and I should be very well satisfied to stay with them all my life long." Without such affection, no great benefits need be looked for in any mission.

At a later period, the number of Roman Catholic proprietors increased, and then the good work was greatly hindered. Such masters would allow no respite to their servants on Saturday evening, and even compelled them to work on the Lord's Day. Hurricanes, drought and pestilence brought suffering and death. Scarcely a year passed without carrying some of the hard-working band of Moravians to the grave. In the course of a few weeks, three brethren and three sisters were stricken fatally by a contagious fever (1817), but their ranks were kept filled. When this mortality was announced at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, eight persons volunteered cheerfully the same day for St. Thomas.

[1] Bremer. See *Period. Accounts*, XXI, 42.

Sailing forty-five miles south from St. Thomas, we come to St. Croix or Santa Cruz, the most southern and largest of the Virgin Islands, having an area three times that of the island just left, and a population of twenty-three thousand. It is comparatively flat. It had been held successively by the English, Dutch, Spaniards and French; the latter selling it in 1734 to the West India and Guiana Company at Copenhagen. Count von Pless, First Chamberlain at the Danish Court, bought six plantations, and applied to the Brethren at Herrnhut for men who should act as overseers of his property, and at the same time labor for the religious welfare of the negroes. Zinzendorf saw at once the objectionable features of that arrangement, but he was overruled. Eighteen colonists, fourteen men and four women, embarked (1734). The Brethren were confined to a room below the second deck, only ten feet square, and so low that they could not even sit upright. Owing to stress of weather, the ship was obliged to winter in a port of Norway; and more than half a year elapsed before they reached St. Thomas on their way to St. Croix. The tedious voyage injured their health; and, during the twelve weeks of their stay on St. Thomas, several of them died. St. Croix, having been deserted for nearly forty years before its transfer to Denmark, was overrun with underwood and trees; rank vegetation, rains and heat rendered

that island peculiarly unhealthy; so that, nine months after landing, only half of the original eighteen remained, and most of the survivors were prostrate with fever. The mixed object of the company led naturally to divisions, and a portion of them lost their spirituality. Some good was effected, yet failure stamped the enterprise. Before these unfortunate facts became known at Herrnhut, a reinforcement of eleven persons was sent out (1735), four of whom died within two months after their arrival, and the whole enterprise had to be abandoned. It was in view of so many untimely graves on this island, that Zinzendorf, mindful that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church, sang now of "the seed of the Ethiopian race."[1] But some of the converted negroes of St. Thomas, being sold to masters in St. Croix, spread the good news of salvation among their fellow-slaves, and were visited by Moravians from the neighboring islands. The first regular mission, as such, did not commence till 1740; but the two Brethren, sent for that purpose, suffered shipwreck, one of whom, seeing his companion engulfed in the waves, could only say: "Depart in peace, beloved brother." Another relinquishment became necessary (1742),

[1] *Es wurden zehn dahin gesät,*
Als wären sie verloren;
Auf ihren Beeten aber steht —
Das ist die Saat der Mohren.

followed by another renewal (1743); and in 1744 the first cases of baptism on St. Croix occurred.

Calumny is something which ministers, missionaries, and converts have met with in all ages. As in the first century, Nero tried to throw the blame of a nine days' conflagration on the hated Christians, and, in the fourth century, Galerius charged incendiarism on them when a fire broke out in the imperial palace, so has it been in several rebellions at different times in the West Indies. It was thus on St. Croix during the insurrection of the negroes, who had planned to massacre all the white inhabitants, Christmas night, 1759. Malicious persons charged some of the baptized slaves with being conspirators; but their innocence was fully established. During the violent disturbance of 1878, resulting in the destruction of more than fifty estates — sugar-mills, offices, houses of proprietors and managers, with their furniture — only one or two baptized negroes were implicated.

Prosperity finally crowned Christian effort on that island. Among the interesting converts was Cornelius, a master mason, a man of excellent capacity, who could speak Creole, Dutch, German and English. With great difficulty he purchased the freedom of himself and wife, and finally that of his six children. For seven-and-forty years he was an invaluable assistant in the mission;

by his unwearied faithfulness night and day, among negroes on the scattered plantations, becoming spiritual father to large numbers of them. White men of rank and good education not unfrequently listened with pleasure and profit to his preaching. When past fourscore, he called his children and grandchildren around his bed, and said: "If you follow this advice of your father, my joy will be complete when I shall see you all again in bliss, and be able to say to our Saviour, 'Here, Lord, is thy unworthy Cornelius and the children whom thou hast given me.' I am sure our Saviour will not forsake you; but, I beseech you, do not forsake him." A colored helper, who suffered deep afflictions (1862), prayed thus: "Lord, chastise us, if needful, with one hand, but draw us nearer to thee with the other." In the course of fifteen years, fifty Moravian laborers found their graves on these two islands.

Directly east from St. Thomas, at a distance of only six miles, lies the island of St. Jan, or St. John, a little smaller than St. Thomas, comparatively healthy, and having only one town, Christiansburg. The whole present population is about a thousand, chiefly free negroes. The mission there was begun at the solicitation of a gentleman who had been fellow-passenger with Zinzendorf, and who had charge of several estates. Brucker, a missionary, settled on St. John (1754), and success attended his labors,

though the congregations never became so large as on the other two islands. In proportion to the whole population, however, the number of converts has not perhaps been exceeded anywhere else.

We have now glanced at these three islands which constitute the only Danish possession in the West Indies — St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John. Like the home dominion, they are small, yet have been among the best cultivated in the whole archipelago; and the same is perhaps true as regards spiritual husbandry among the blacks. The happy results of such missionary labor are unquestionable. One of the colored native assistants, Abraham, who rendered himself specially useful from 1740 onward for nearly a score of years, who often endured cruelties for his Christian fidelity, and who was at last fatally stabbed by an exasperated negro, could write: "I thank the Lord that we now see what we never ventured to expect — that we are members of a living congregation of Jesus. Formerly, we were little better than the beasts of the field, nor even presumed to think that there was mercy in store for the heathen. We adore with all our hearts the Lord Jesus, and rest entirely on his love and grace." One aged woman, who had been sick, and was threatened with punishment by the overseer, saying, "It would be better with her then," replied: "Master, the earth on which I must stretch my-

self to receive blows is the Lord's, and, if you have me killed, my body will be all the sooner at rest; and my soul, which you cannot slay, will go to the enjoyment of blessedness with my Lord Jesus."

When Leonhard Dober started for the Danish West Indies, he expressed a willingness to sacrifice health, liberty and life, if only one soul might be saved. At the expiration of the first century, thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three persons had been admitted to the communion; but since then there has been no great increase in the congregations, for by that time the blacks had all practically come under missionary instruction, and of late the natural growth of the negro population has been trifling. On these three islands there are now eight stations, fourteen missionaries, six hundred and twenty-five communicants, while the whole number of persons in charge is four thousand three hundred and fourteen. It should be added that the price of the staple product, sugar, is at the present time very low; that the severe drought of several years past has destroyed the annual crops; that many estates have been abandoned, and people have moved away. It is stated that the proprietors are now nearly all skeptics, and lead lives of extreme immorality; which of course has a damaging effect on the negroes, who, as a race, are sensuous, unreflecting, and with but little

self-control. Lying and stealing were habits common among negroes on all the islands, and not easily eradicated — habits too common among the same race in our Southern States, and unfortunately not restricted to that color line.

A sail of eight hundred miles in the Caribbean Sea westward from the Virgin Islands brings us to Jamaica, one of the Greater Antilles, the largest of the British West India Islands, yet only as large as Yorkshire, England; an ellipse in shape; mountainous, some peaks reaching the height of seven thousand feet. The general appearance of the island is picturesque in a high degree, the escarpments of the rocks being often peculiarly irregular and rugged. Columbus, in describing the island, took a sheet of paper, and, crumpling it in his hand, laid it on the table as a model. Jamaica, especially in its eastern part, is better supplied with water than any other of the West India Islands; it has more than a hundred short rivers, which must have suggested the original Indian name, *Xaimaica*, "Land of Springs." In area and present population, it is about the same as the State of Connecticut.

For more than a century after Jamaica became an appendage of the British crown, almost nothing was done to Christianize the slaves;[1] but, only twenty-two years after the first Moravian

[1] Philippo's *Jamaica: its Past and Present State*, 279.

effort among the Danish Islands, a mission was begun here (1754). The beginnings, however, of the two, were quite unlike. A slave taken to the Danish capital was the occasion of the one; two English Christian proprietors solicited the other. Early laborers on the Virgin Islands met with prevailing contempt, opposition and want; in Jamaica, they were respected, and supplied with much that was needful. In the former there was a large and early harvest; in the latter, for more than half a century, fruits were limited and unsatisfactory. The brothers, Messrs. William Foster and Joseph Foster-Barham, who had joined the Moravians in England, were strongly desirous of having religious instruction imparted to the negroes on their estates; and, during the four years that followed the arrival of the first missionaries (1754–58), the value of land presented by them, and of contributions in other forms, amounted to twelve thousand dollars. The interest shown by these brothers in the good work called forth the ridicule of relatives, and derision from other proprietors. The estate given by them for a Christian purpose led naturally to methods and relations incompatible with the best interests of Christian labor. As in the first colony on St. Croix, here, too, was a great mistake. There is such a thing as munificent gifts, even from truly religious sources, proving more detrimental, if possible, than parsimony would be in the same

quarters. Large pecuniary patronage is a severe test even of the better type of spiritual efforts. The early missionaries to Jamaica, by accepting so much, came inevitably to be regarded as attachés of the plantation, as belonging to the staff of officers employed by the master. The overseer would complain to the preacher of laziness among the slaves, and expect him to rebuke them. The missionaries became not unnaturally in a measure secularized; and they failed to identify themselves with the native population, a thing indispensable to success. Indeed, so far from thinking to sell themselves into bondage with a view to gaining access to the negroes, they fell into the mistake of owning slaves. This, however, came about in a comparatively innocent way, and not without a touch of pathos. The earliest instance occurred at St. Thomas (about 1740), where one of the Brethren, stationed apart from others, was attacked by fever, and had nobody to attend him. Free servants were not to be had; so the congregation, slaves themselves, collected money, bought a servant, and gave him to their minister to wait upon him in his forlorn condition. With the ideas of that age in regard to the system, and owning as they now did a Jamaica estate which had to be cultivated for their support, it was less strange that they thus became masters. Nor is it strange that their negroes were indisposed to attend upon their ministra-

tions, and that it was found necessary to require them to do this as to perform servile labor. The station founded on this estate was named Carmel, and it was held by the mission for seventy years, but never prospered. "O Jamaica, Jamaica!" exclaims Missionary Lang; "dead as flint, yea, hard as an adamant, unfeeling to all that comes of God and from God! Dost thou think the Omnipresent will change his laws for thy corrupt customs' sake?"

Improvement might, however, be seen, even in the comparatively lean and dreary period of the last century. Only the next year after (1755) the opening of the mission, a Brother wrote: "I heard that somebody had offered a horse to my servant Lewis, on the condition of his doing something which neither the black nor white people here think to be wrong, but which was against his conscience. He refused it, and answered: 'I will not lose my soul to gain a horse!' Another man, old John, would walk twenty miles to hear Christ preached, though scourged for the offense. His master, overtaking him one night, asks, with a curse, if he has been to church. 'I have,' he replies, 'and Jesus is sweet to me; I must not let him go, massa; I must go to church.' With another oath, and with further blows of the whip, the master rides on." Among the interesting converts of the present century was Archibald Monteith, brought from Africa as a slave,

who, without instruction, learned to read, and, as a helper, labored with ability, zeal and faithfulness for many years, and whose last words (1863) were: "My looks are fastened on the cross. I am ready to depart, for I know whom I have believed." An aged woman, who walked eleven miles to attend meetings, when asked how she could do it, answered: "Love makes the way short." In the early days of the work, Caries, the first missionary, sometimes had hearers who would walk fifteen or more miles to hear him preach. More recently (1821), at the chapels of Carmel and New Eden, might be seen negroes who did not hesitate to travel twenty miles after their week's labor, in order to reach the mission stations seasonably on Sunday morning.

Prior to emancipation, the negro was so crushed as to be the veriest coward; the whip and the gallows were constantly in his eye; still there would be an occasional outbreak. In 1760 a rebellion occurred; and in 1831 was an extensive insurrection, when, though few white men were killed, many buildings were burned. Almost none of the converts, however, shared in the uprising, while many instances came to light in which life and property were preserved by them. One proprietor, when obliged to leave home to join the militia, felt no hesitation in trusting his wife and children to the negroes; nor did they prove unworthy of such confidence. Through

the hostility of persons whose evil deeds he had exposed, one of the missionaries, Pfeiffer, was arrested at that time and tried by a court-martial, but was unanimously acquitted; whereas one of the chief witnesses against him was condemned and executed for the part he had taken in the insurrection.

It was a great step when, in 1807, the slave-trade between Africa and the West Indies received its death-blow, but a much greater when the Act of Emancipation of slaves on the British West India Islands was passed, the Imperial Parliament voting one hundred millions of dollars by way of compensation for eight hundred thousand slaves liberated. It must be accounted a noteworthy coincidence, that the same night — July 29, 1833 — in which the House of Commons passed the most important clause of that Act, and very nearly at the same moment, the spirit of Wilberforce, whose life-work was accomplished, should be released from earth. On the eve of the memorable 1st of August, 1838, when emancipation went fully into effect, negroes connected with the Moravian Brethren began to assemble at Fairfield, their chief station in Jamaica. At four o'clock, the chapel bell announced the day of jubilee; and no sooner did day dawn than nearly two thousand — the whole number on the island was about three hundred and twelve thousand — who, till then, had been slaves, stood in

orderly ranks on a terrace behind the chapel, clothed in white, prepared to give thanks to Almighty God. Religious services followed at different hours; there was deep feeling, but no jubilant demonstration. When the missionary, speaking from the words, "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," dwelt on the duty of gratitude for religious advantages, the whole multitude, with one consent, burst into a response: "Yes, massa; thank God. We do thank the Lord for it. Bless the Lord!" The emancipated slaves were by no means unforgiving. A gentleman, on making his first appearance at the house of God, was treated with marked civility by a negro member of the church. "What makes you so happy in your attentions?" asked the missionary. "Have I not been the slave of this man?" said he; "has he not punished me many times for going to church? And now to see him come himself, and sit down under the same roof!"

As time advances, spiritual Christianity takes a deeper hold on the general heart — a feature which may be looked for in the progress of all missionary work. That became especially evident during a religious movement in the year 1860, when a spirit of prayer and Christian earnestness, beginning at the station of New Carmel, spread to the other twelve stations, and was characterized by deep conviction of sin, and the

absence of all peace till found in the pardoning grace of Jesus Christ. "Oh, I never thought," exclaimed a girl twelve years of age, "that my sins placed the thorns on our Saviour's head, and drove the nails into his hands, and fastened him to the cross! I know it now! But he has forgiven me." "O Lord Jesus," cries a lad, "come to me, a poor child! Let the oil of thy grace overstream my heart, my head, my hands, my feet, for there is no sound spot in me; all is full of wounds and putrefying sores!" Bibles were bought as never before; tippling-shops were deserted; and a zeal for good works in general resulted, at least for a time.

Here, as in other West India stations, there has been great mortality among the Brethren. While it is seldom that a negro dies of yellow fever, in one year (1825) four missionaries were removed in the course of a single month; and at another time (1843), also four during the year. Out of sixty-four who died before the first centenary, twenty-three served only two years or less. But, within the last quarter of a century, the average term of service has nearly doubled, and at the same time the work has come to be highly prosperous, and is now (1881) larger than any other in the wide field of Moravian labor; having fourteen stations, twenty-seven missionaries, including several blacks, and over fifteen thousand persons, of whom about five thousand are commu-

nicants. In sixty-eight schools, there are more than five thousand children under instruction (5,555). In one year recently (1876), they raised for mission work, among themselves, eleven thousand and five hundred dollars, besides what they contributed to the Bible Society and other objects. A female training-school was opened in 1861 at Bethabara, which has rendered good service. They have a theological seminary at Fairfield (1876), for training native ministers. As a general thing, however, the students have feeble reasoning powers, are superficial, and disposed to be content if only "dipped in a weak solution of accomplishment." Two years ago (1879), the death of the Principal, and other disappointing experiences, occasioned a temporary closing of the institution. Men dismissed from service in schools or elsewhere, for immorality, have, on account of their gifts, not unfrequently been taken up at once by other missions, and at a higher salary than the Moravians could afford to pay. Unhappily, this is not a solitary instance of such want of comity in the missionary world. Another annoyance, in later years (1876), is the damaging influence of Plymouth Brethren.

Leaving Jamaica, we will now retrace our course through the Caribbean Sea to the eastward, and beyond the Virgin Islands. Something over one hundred miles from St. Croix, we touch at St. Christopher's, familiarly known among the

English as St. Kitt's. From the shore the land sweeps upward, slowly at first, then rapidly, toward the central mass, a rugged peak nearly four thousand feet high, of black lava, called Mount Misery, that overhangs an extinct volcano, from which at times clouds of smoke still issue. The island has less than seventy square miles, and a population of twenty-three thousand, two thirds of whom are negroes. St. Kitt's is picturesque and peculiarly fertile, the soil being in some places seventy feet deep.

News of the great success of the gospel among slaves in Antigua, where a work had been begun by Moravians, reaching the island, Mr. Gardner, a Christian planter and an officer of the government, communicated a desire to the Directing Board at Herrnhut that a mission might be established. Two of the Brethren were accordingly sent out (1777). The venerable Bishop Spangenberg, in his instructions to them, made some excellent suggestions: "Be cautious and prudent in availing yourselves of the favor of men. When the late Count Zinzendorf was on a visit to St. Thomas, he found only one gentleman kindly disposed toward our mission there, a Mr. Carstens. This gentleman ordered his slaves, of whom he possessed a great number, to attend the meetings of our Brethren. They did so, but still remained unconverted. On the other hand, the negroes, both men and women, who

were beaten by their masters and mistresses for attendance at meetings, were converted and became the first-fruits of the negro congregation in St. Thomas."

The Anglican clergyman formerly at St. Kitt's had not reflected much honor upon his calling. He boasted to the Moravians that, by request of a landed proprietor in England, he had baptized negroes, and in this way had earned not a little money. All these poor slaves continued untaught pagans till the passing of the Curates' Bill, which entitled clergymen to a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* for each baptism; and then twenty-four thousand in one parish of a certain island were made Christians at once, without instruction, examination, or subsequent discipline, or any change in their habits, to live and die almost like those animals upon whom the holy water is sprinkled by the priests at Rome on the feast of St. Antonio![1] But the Moravian Brethren, by their deportment and disinterested labors, soon secured confidence and erelong success. Toward the close of the year, some of the negroes could be formed into a candidates' class. One old woman, to whom the missionaries were trying to make it clear that the Saviour of sinners had become man and died for her sake, and wished that she should be saved, fell upon her knees, lifted up her hands, and exclaimed: "O massa!

[1] Baptist Noel's *Christian Missions to Heathen Nations*, 124.

that is so sweet! Such good news I never heard in all my life." Many of the negroes showed an eager desire to hear the Word of Life, which they might not learn to read. When, after a dozen years, a chapel was put up, the attendance became large, even on week-days.

Seventeen years from the commencement (1794) there were two thousand members; and the good work continued to go on prosperously in the main. Less opposition was met with than at most of the islands; but it has been in the midst of fearful and destructive earthquakes, hurricanes, and floods, as well as alarms and occupation by the French during times of war, that the Moravians have toiled on.[1] Among the many rich natural productions of this island are several kinds of citron, which perfume the air, from one of which is obtained the delicious bergamot; but no rich odor, no "spicy breezes," so refresh us as the breath of devout joy from converts, some of them on sick beds. "Praise the Lord!" exclaimed an elderly woman, as she fell under an apoplectic seizure. "Praise the Lord!" were the last words of a youthful colored sister, whose sickness had been a prolonged one, and who had endured buffetings of Satan, whom she resisted,

[1] Pestilence has also done its fearful work. In the course of a little over one month in 1854, fourteen hundred and five, out of the eight thousand inhabitants of Basseterre, were swept away by cholera.

saying: "You did not die for me!" Their centenary celebration occurred in 1877; and there are now (1881) on the island four stations, ten missionaries, and four thousand persons in charge (4,106), of whom fifteen hundred and eighty-four are communicants. The schools are flourishing.

A trip of sixty miles still farther eastward brings us to Antigua, an island discovered by Columbus (1493), nearly the first of those settled by England, and which is one of the most productive in the British West-Indian group. It contains one hundred and eight square miles, and a population of perhaps thirty thousand. Antigua stands in extreme contrast with Jamaica, in that it has no running water, the people depending wholly upon cisterns, tanks and ponds. Hence, in the failure of rain, there is sometimes a distressing drought, and crops are uncertain. The condition of slaves in this island, previous to Moravian labors among them, did not differ much from what it was on other islands. The inherent vices of the system were here, as elsewhere, aggravated by certain accessories; Christian instruction, baptism and marriage had never been conceded to the negroes, and the only way in which they had learned the name of God was by hearing white men swear.

A quarter of a century after the establishment of the mission on St. Thomas, Samuel Isles, after laboring on the Danish Islands for some time,

went to Antigua (1756). He had received no instructions, and had no friends there; but, going directly to the Governor, he showed the Act of Parliament (1749) which recognized the Moravian Church, and encouraged Christian efforts in British colonies. Permission to remain was granted. At night he found shelter in a negro cottage. He and his immediate successors suffered from extreme poverty, and were obliged to work for their own support. Peter Braun, who arrived from Pennsylvania (1769), and toiled assiduously for twenty-two years, was particularly blessed. His ardent love to the Saviour, and to the souls of these slaves, made him cheerfully condescend to men of low estate. He was with them in their hours of rest, ate out of their calabash, and thus finally conquered a place in their affection.[1] "The poor negroes," he wrote, "have something very attractive to me. I love them dearly; and they become dearer to me every day, especially

[1] To the Rev. Rowland Hill he wrote, in his imperfect English: "Certainly, dear sir and brother, when the grace of our dear Lord changed their heart, then they became comeliness unto our Lord Jesus Christ, as you write; and when we see them, and feel how the grace of our Lord works in their heart, and in the meeting, we, faithfully speaking, see the tear trickling down their cheeks for longing to love our dear Saviour, who suffered and died for us; when we see this and feel this from them, then we cannot do otherwise than love them, and spend these lives with them." Rowland Hill's efforts in behalf of foreign missions may be traced to his special interest in the work of this humble Moravian.

when I observe their childlike simplicity and love to the Saviour."

Was the new life among these debased creatures only apparent, or was it an abiding reality? There have been seasons of remarkable religious interest, as in 1774, when the slaves, after working hard all day, and often without a single meal, would, in spite of cruel beating, go eight and ten miles to hear the word of God; and again, in 1782, when missionaries could often find no time to eat a bit of bread, there were so many hungry souls to be fed. Wayside and stony ground hearers there were, of course; but let specimens from the good ground speak for themselves. For instance, one Joseph, who joined the Moravians, having obtained his freedom, was engaged as valet to a gentleman. His master often entered into familiar conversation with him, and once said to him: "Joseph, you are a fool to be always going to Gracehill; for you were baptized in the English Church." The negro replied: "I was a fool when I gave the clergyman money to baptize me, though he never instructed me in the doctrine of salvation. This I have been taught in Gracehill, a Moravian station. You, sir, are a great gentleman and a Christian, and yet you never go to church; but I will tell you, I would not change with you, though I am but a poor negro." Jacob Harvey, a helper, was, like others, very fond of hymns. The missionary, finding the

good man's book crammed with slips of paper, blades of grass, dried leaves, cane-tops, and bits of rags, as book-marks, remonstrated with him, saying that the back of the book would burst; but Jacob exclaimed: "O massa! dem me partikler hymns." The converts learned to take joyfully the spoiling of their goods, such as they had. The house of one of them being broken into and robbed, he said, with placid countenance: "Well, they have not been able to rob me of my greatest treasure — the grace of my Saviour. They are more to be pitied than I am."

When Peter Braun arrived, there were fourteen baptized negroes; when, literally worn out in the Master's service, he left (1791), there were, in charge of the Brethren, seven thousand and four hundred persons, of all ages, the majority of whom had received baptism,[1] and a great number were communicants. In the course of the last year of this most excellent man's labor there, no fewer than six hundred and forty baptisms took place. Even sixty years ago (1823) it was found that, in the town of St. John's alone, more than sixteen thousand (16,099) negroes had received that ordinance; and the church there attained such size — about seven thousand members — that, in the

[1] In these missions, children are not baptized as such after they have completed their fourth year, nor in general as adults before they are twelve years old. *Missionary Conference, St. Thomas*, 1869, p. 9.

course of less than ten years (1837-1845), it could furnish four branch congregations. In St. John's is a training institution for females, which supplies useful school-mistresses.

The memorable year of 1834 arriving, the Legislature of the Colony of Antigua took a bold step in granting unrestricted freedom to the slaves, instead of waiting till after the four years of apprenticeship allowed by Parliament. The result showed that the proceeding was no less judicious than humane. In the preamble to that Act, the fitness of Antigua bondsmen for this immediate boon was ascribed to the religious instruction which for a long time had been imparted by Moravians and others. On the evening of July 31, one of the Brethren held a meeting, which was thronged, the text of his discourse being, "Sanctify yourselves, for tomorrow the Lord will do wonders for you." About eleven o'clock it began to thunder, which continued with increasing violence till midnight, and then ceased. It seemed as if God from heaven summoned all to attend while liberty to the captive was proclaimed. The clock struck twelve, and thirty thousand souls on that island passed in an instant from slavery to freedom. The sun of August 1st rose upon them an orderly community, subdued in temper, and hastening quietly "to enter the gates of the Lord with thanksgiving and his courts with praise."

At the present hour (1881) there are eight stations, seventeen missionaries, and seven thousand members (7,106). It was peculiarly gratifying to me to hear Bishop Jackson, of the English Church, after forty years of missionary service in the West Indies, make a public statement in Exeter Hall, five years ago, to this effect — that he remembered when the census of Antigua made no mention of the thousands of blacks; when scarcely one of them was seen in the English churches, or at the communion table; when very few of them could read; and when there was no marriage, for that would interfere with the planters' way of doing business. Now, more than half can read, and a majority are in the congregations; and, in achieving that result, Moravians nobly took the lead. He stated also that the first English clergyman who instructed blacks in Barbados was indicted for the offence, and that the prosecuting attorney is still living.

We now change our course, and proceed southward toward the equator. Three hundred miles will bring us to the island just named, Barbados,[1] the most eastern or windward island in the

[1] Barbados, *i.e.*, *barbatus*, bearded. It was named thus by its Portuguese discoverers, from the appearance of a tree, a species of the *ficus*, which throws out long pendant tufts from its branches.

archipelago; encircled with coral reefs; not elevated itself; less unhealthy than other islands; a larger share of its one hundred and sixty-six square miles under cultivation than is to be found elsewhere; more densely populated than China, indeed, than any other spot in the world, except Malta — nine hundred and sixty-six to the square mile — notwithstanding the Asiatic cholera, in 1854, carried off over one seventh of the people. A larger proportion of the inhabitants (160,000) are white than anywhere else in the West Indies. Small as is the area — about the same as the Isle of Wight — its annual trade amounts to more than five millions of dollars each of exports and imports.

The earlier missionary endeavors of Moravians on Barbados were attended with special discouragements. Planters blamed the captain who had brought a Moravian preacher; and one, who was a Roman Catholic, declared he would throw him into the water if he came near his estate. Of the two Brethren sent out in 1765, one died within three weeks after landing; and death continued to keep the ranks of these Christian laborers thin, so that, after six years, there remained only two widows and one unmarried man. But the living did not lose heart, nor did the dying leave regretfully. Missionary Herr, for example, on the evening of his decease (February 24, 1773), said: "Yes, dear Saviour, come soon and call me, and

give me what thou hast merited; more I desire not."

Among the Moravians who labored for a time on this island, was the father of James Montgomery the poet, the Rev. John Montgomery, who died here in 1791. Here too, as elsewhere, it appeared that, in the servile insurrection of 1816, not one connected with the mission congregation was implicated in an outbreak which cost the lives of a thousand negroes. By the terrible hurricanes of 1780 and 1831, which for a time made a desert of Barbados, the mission suffered heavily. The destruction of property throughout the island, in those two visitations, amounted to fifteen millions of dollars; and of life, to about six thousand persons.

This mission has not been characterized by eminent success, either in numerical results, or influence on the dense population; yet a goodly number of negroes have given evidence, in life and in death, that they were subjects of special divine grace. A representative of such was Dinah, one of the first to receive baptism, who showed by her whole deportment that she was a child of God; and who, more than a hundred years of age, was found dead one morning, kneeling by her bedside in the attitude of prayer. At the present time (1881), there are on the island four stations, six missionaries, and three thousand adherents

(3,167), the fourteen hundred (1,406) communicants included.

It was hardly to be supposed that fiction and the plain prose of our present subject would meet on the confines of the Caribbean Sea; yet Tobago is entitled to be regarded as "Robinson Crusoe's Island," Charles Kingsley, whose authority in a matter of romance will not be questioned, pronouncing in its favor. It certainly is so situated as not improbably to be the place of wreck for one off "the river Oroonoque," who should, as Crusoe did, "stand away for Barbados." From the latter it is distant one hundred and fifty miles to the south.

Here we begin to find ourselves outside the range of hurricanes, and among the spices — cinnamon and nutmegs. Figs and guavas are the best in the West Indies. Unlike the islands hitherto visited, this has singing-birds. Of humming-birds there are several species; and here we set eyes upon the beautiful flamingo. The island has an area of about one hundred square miles, and a population of seventeen thousand souls. Here, as well as in Barbados, an incurable form of leprosy is known; the lower limbs being not unfrequently attacked, and becoming so swollen and rough as to resemble the limbs of an elephant; hence the name, *Elephantiasis.*[1]

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[1] *Elephantiasis Arabum — Bucnomia tropica*, or "Barbados leg."

In bringing the gospel hither, as so often elsewhere, Moravian missionaries were pioneers. At the request of a Mr. Hamilton, one of the wealthy proprietors, a beginning was made by the Rev. John Montgomery (1787), who, in feeble health, paid a visit from Barbados. Three years later he moved to the island; but his wife died after a few months, and, within less than a year, he was obliged to leave, when there occurred a missionary interregnum of eight years. Mr. Hamilton, however, was still desirous to have the slaves taught religiously, though most of the planters spent their unrighteous gains in profligacy, and were not in favor of having the Word of God, which condemned their sinful practices, introduced among the slaves. A prosperous work began; then failure of health again on the part of new laborers,[1] and the reoccupation of the island by the French, compelled another suspension of the work (1802). A quarter of a century more elapsed before permanent resumption took place (1827), when the chief missionary station received the appropriate name of Montgomery, which it still bears.

Unquestionable improvement, in nearly all respects, has taken place among the negroes. The

[1] The average term of service on the part of the sixty-four brethren and sisters who have labored here is only four years.

uncouth patois which formerly prevailed has given place somewhat generally to respectable English; and Tobago enjoys the enviable reputation of having a larger proportion of her inhabitants in the enjoyment of educational advantages than any other island in the archipelago. Some of the negroes have become exemplary Christians and valuable helpers, by witnessing to the truth experimentally as it is in Jesus. Such an one, for instance, was old Kate, at Montgomery; and Belinda, once a slave, but a true mother in Israel — names which Paul would have inserted among the Phebes and Priscillas of Romans sixteenth. "When I am going up hill to Montgomery," Belinda used to say, "I am as joyful as if I were going to heaven." Instances of suggestive liberality were not wanting. When the foundation of a new church was laid (1840) at Montgomery, an old man came on his crutches to the missionary, and laid down a dollar, saying: "Massa, here is something for the new church." "Where did you get the money?" asked the missionary. "I take care of little children," said he, "while their mothers are at work in the fields; and sometimes they give me a half-penny or two for my trouble; so, by degrees, I have collected this dollar, and now I give it to the church with all my heart." It was all he had. The statistics for 1881 report three stations, six missionaries, over a thousand church-members (1,106), and

two thousand six hundred and seventeen persons in charge.

This West India mission, in its two divisions, Eastern and Western — an arrangement which was made in 1879 — reckons forty-one stations, seventy-eight missionaries, and over thirty-six thousand members (36,698). By an enactment of the last General Synod of the Unitas (1879), the appropriations are to be reduced one tenth annually; and this field is to become self-supporting in the year 1889, after which it will receive no more aid from the home churches, and will then constitute an independent Province, though, like each of the existing Provinces, an integral part of the Unitas Fratrum. It should be added that, from the first, it has been found necessary to exclude many from the churches on account of immorality. Outside of Christian churches, the majority of children born are illegitimate. The moral atmosphere is a tainted one. Relics of African superstition are to be met with. One, among the many notions which the black sorcerers encourage, is this — that they can furnish something wherewith to catch the shadow of a man, who can then, they pretend, be burned or drowned. The former curse of slavery is still felt in its degrading influence on the negro; manly independence, and stability of Christian character, such as may be met with on the west coast of Africa, are seldom found here.

In the flow of human affairs under Divine providence, what a singular conjunction do we witness on these West India Islands! Savage men, torn from the western coast of the old Dark Continent, are forced into cruel bondage, thousands of miles away, on the confines of this new world. Moved by the Spirit, and guided by the God of missions, men from the interior of another continent find their way thousands of miles to the same region, that they may sit down by these expatriated Africans, and tell them of salvation through Jesus Christ. Be it remembered, Catholic Spain was not the only country which had been, and was still, engaged in the slave trade, and in the employment of slave labor on West India Islands. Protestant England legalized and encouraged the abomination. Only twenty years before Dober and Nitschmann sailed for St. Thomas, Queen Anne boasted, in her speech to Parliament (1712), of her success in securing to Englishmen a new market for slaves in Spanish America. One hundred thousand negroes were annually imported to supply West India plantations alone; and, on passing into the planters' hands, each of them had the initial of his owner's name stamped upon his shoulder with a heated brand. And what kind of treatment did they experience? On the estates generally, at dawn of day the shell was blown to call slaves to their work; and each gang — one of them made up of children from six to twelve

years of age — was marched to the field under a driver with a long whip. Returning exhausted after sunset, they were sometimes compelled to toil for hours by moonlight. If the overseer, upon examination, was not satisfied with their work, they were flogged, men and women alike. Yes, women might be whipped at the mercy of any ruffian slave-driver; and by at least the third blow the body would be covered with blood. Mr. Henry Whitley [1] gives a simple and truthful narrative of the common incidents of a sugar plantation, and brings before us the driver, looking on with lazy indifference; the piercing cries of the negro woman tied upon the ground to receive her punishment; the crack of the fearful cart-whip, the shriek of agony as it cuts deep into the flesh. In four colonies, and those the best ordered, planters themselves swore to the infliction of sixty thousand punishments in one year. A single individual, Mr. Arthur Hodge, caused the death of about threescore slaves; and his counsel asserted boldly that, "a slave being property, it was no greater offence in law for a master to kill him than it would be to kill a dog." [2] To have a conscience or aspiration or human affection, to think or hope, was no prerogative of the negro, but only to dig and to tremble. What must be

[1] *Three Months in Jamaica.* 1832.

[2] Edwards's *History of the British West Indies,* IV, 460.

the moral condition of savages kidnapped and subjected to such a system — a system under which marriage was illegal, under which, on some estates, they were rigidly forbidden to attend upon any means of grace, every violation being visited with the lash? The plantation staff were sunk in profligacy; the negroes were like beasts of the field. "Take it all in all," says Captain Southey, brother of Robert Southey the poet, and a competent witness, "it is perhaps as disgraceful a portion of history as the whole course of time can afford; for I know not that there is anything generous, anything ennobling, anything honorable or consolatory to human nature, to relieve it, except what may relate to the missionaries."

The thought of giving Christian instruction to slaves seems to have occurred to only here and there a planter. With whom did an effort in that direction originate? With George II, a German prince, then upon the throne of England? With the Parliament of England, or the Church of England? No, but among obscure Moravians in the heart of continental Europe. Before Grenville Sharpe was born, half a century before Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce began to interest themselves about the slave trade, humble artisans from Herrnhut were illustrating "practical Christianity" among despised African bond-servants of English proprietors in this far-off

region. They led the van in breaking up the apathy that prevailed concerning the spiritual condition of slaves, and in breaking through the skepticism which prevailed as to the possibility of their being converted. Not long before the mission was begun on St. Christopher's, an English clergyman declared: "To bring them to the knowledge of the Christian religion is undoubtedly a great and good design, in the intention laudable, and in speculation easy; yet I believe, for reasons too tedious to mention, that the difficulties attending it are, and I am persuaded ever will be, insurmountable."[1] Moravian missionaries had to encounter the most intensely adverse agencies — drought, famine, pestilence and the hurricane, which at times demolished dwellings and churches, and carried devastation over all the fruits of industry. Mortality among the missionaries has been fearful. Many have died when just entering upon the work, and nearly all have suffered from severe sickness. At the close of the first century (1832), out of three hundred and seven laborers, male and female, who had been employed, one hundred and ninety (an average of about two annually) had been removed by death. These West India Islands form a series of Moravian cemeteries. The Brethren knew

[1] The Rev. Mr. Hughes, quoted in *Jamaica Enslaved and Free*, 140

their liabilities; they met them calmly, and with quiet assurance fell asleep in Jesus. Other churches have since sent Christian laborers to the same fields; but Moravians were the first, by their toil and their graves, to take possession of those islands for "Him who shall have dominion also from sea to sea."

LECTURE IV.

MISSIONS TO SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

MISSIONS TO SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

A SCOTTISH writer,[1] speaking of the savage, remarks: "Europe, especially Britain, would fain save him, but he cannot be saved. Born a savage, meant for savage life, it would seem as if his Creator had decreed that his continuance should be limited to this state; and that the approach of civilization, and the races who pertain to it, speak the doom of savagism and the savage." So writes the minister of St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church, in Bathurst, New South Wales. This voice from the antipodes does not sound quite Pauline: "I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians." Might not a remembrance of his own ancestors, who at a remote period were wild savages, have corrected the reverend gentleman's notion regarding divine decrees? Whatever the residence, the experience, or the profession, is it seemly in any one to limit our Saviour's last command, or the elevating power of Christianity?

[1] *Christian Missions to Wrong Places, among Wrong Races, and in Wrong Hands.* By Rev. A. C. Geekie, D.D. London, 1871, p. 101.

What body of clergymen now living, what cultivated religious community is there, but may trace their pedigree back to a barbarian period?

In the last lecture, it appeared that humble, earnest men proved the gospel of Christ to be "the power of God unto salvation to every" uncivilized African in the West Indies "that believeth." Let us today look a little further among savages in the tropics. Taking our departure from the island of Tobago, we sail for South America. Two hundred miles bring us past the mouth of the Orinoco to the nearest point of Guiana on the shoulder of the continent. The region bearing this name, Guiana, extends from the Orinoco to the Amazon; but, in the more restricted use, it has a northern coast-line of six or eight hundred miles, divided into three portions, English, Dutch, and French Guiana. No mountain range or headland along the coast attracts the eye of the mariner. The land is so low as to be hardly visible from the sea; indeed, trees seem to rise out of the water. Scarcely a stone can be found. For many leagues southward it is one great oozy, alluvial flat, a tropical Netherlands, requiring embankments to protect against inundations from the ocean and from rivers. There are districts where, in flood-time, fishes feed on the leaves of herbs, crabs are found on trees, and oysters multiply in the forests. The sea is made turbid by alluvial matter which the

streams discharge; and the same matter, lodged on land, gives rise, under tropical heat, to malaria. The enormous amount of quinine imported suggests the kinds of fevers which prevail. Forests and rivers are the chief features. Here is found the magnificent *Victoria Regia*, discovered by Shomburgk in 1837, the most beautiful specimen in the vegetable kingdom of this western hemisphere. Parasitical plants are so abundant and rank as to render these virgin forests nearly impassable by man; but they are alive with wild beasts, and with a variety of brilliant birds. Here is the favorite home of the boa, the vampire, frightful swarms of insects and of various vermin. It is the very paradise of the chigoe, the wood-tick, and the *bête-rouge*. It may be noticed, in passing, that in all the larger rivers there are cataracts at some distance from the sea; one of these falls, the Kaieteur, becoming known to the civilized world only a dozen years since.[1] The Potaro, a tributary of the Essequibo, at a width of three hundred and seventy feet, plunges from a height of eight hundred and twenty-two feet.[2] It was hither that gallant Sir Walter Raleigh

[1] Discovered by C. B. Brown in 1870.

[2] "Many years since," says Raleigh, "I had knowledge by revelation of that mighty, rich, and beawtifull empire, Guiana, and of that great and golden citie which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa." *Discoverie of the Empire of Guiana*, 1595, p. v.

came in pursuit of an imaginary "El Dorado," glittering pieces of mica being sufficient to induce the dream of another empire like that of the Incas. Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, German and English adventurers were attracted to this region, and many lives sacrificed.

The eastern section of Guiana is the only British possession on the continent of South America; but the population, about a hundred and fifty thousand, exclusive of aborigines, is most miscellaneous — British, Dutch, French, Portuguese, African, besides Chinese and Hindu coolies. In the interior are Indian tribes, like the aborigines of our own country — feeble remnants, scattered, diminishing in numbers, and politically unimportant. In character apathetic, indolent, sensuous, revengeful, fond of an independent life, they have acute senses, and maintain a keen observation of natural objects. Blood-revenge is not uncommon. Slavery existed among the natives, as in Africa, from the earliest times.[1] Among these tribes are the Accawois, who deal in poison and murder, hiring themselves to others for the purpose of assassination; the Warows, marsh-loving, filthy,

[1] Francis Sparrow, who had been left by Sir Walter Raleigh to explore the country, bought, to the southward of the Orinoco, eight beautiful young women, the eldest not eighteen years of age, for a red-handled knife, the value of which in England, at that time, was but one half-penny. *Drake's Voyage*, 295.

and most degraded; the Arawaks,[1] less savage, more accessible and more numerous, than others, living nearer the European colonists, and having an aptitude for civilization greater than tribes farther from the coast. Then there are the Caribs, martial plunderers, if not as in former times cannibals, who tyrannize over less spirited natives, and in their general habits resembling the Indians of North America, subsisting chiefly by the chase and by fishing. They are found on both sides of the Essequibo, and in Upper Demerara, British Guiana. Their religion is a dark web of gross superstition and incoherent fetichism. They believe in two superior beings; to the one who is beneficent they pay no acts of worship, but endeavor by tricks of necromancy to neutralize the influence of the evil spirit or spirits, of whom they live in abject fear. "They seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and wizards that peep and mutter." This, however, must be said to the credit of native Indians, that swearing is unknown in the vernacular, which does not furnish requisite terms, though drunken Indians will sometimes practice profaneness at a fearful rate, but it is in the English language.

Sundry good things have come from the Old

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[1] Variously given: Arowaks, Arowacks, Arrowacks, Arrowaks, Arowagrees, etc. — "Flour-People," from their having invented the art of preparing tapioca. Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, s. 451.

World to this Western World by way of Holland. One of them is the coffee-plant, which, though now so widely spread, is the product of a single specimen transplanted to the Botanic Garden at Amsterdam by Van Hoorn, Governor of Batavia, in 1718; plants being sent afterwards to Surinam, Dutch Guiana, whence they spread over the tropical parts of America. But the best thing ever introduced by way of the Netherlands was Moravian Christianity. Spangenberg, a most able Bishop of the United Brethren, on his journey to England in 1734, passed through Holland, and, at the suggestion of Zinzendorf, had several consultations with the Directors of the Dutch Trading Company for Surinam. As a result, the United Brethren agreed to form one or more colonies in that country, with a view to evangelizing the native tribes. The next year, three of the Brethren went out to explore the country; and, a gentleman in Amsterdam having requested that Moravians would settle upon the Rio de Berbice, and preach to his negro slaves — that territory then belonging to Holland — Dähne and Güttner, from Marienborn, accepted the undertaking. Those in charge of the estates, however, looked askant upon these humble men, and determined to thwart their purpose — one of the hundreds of cases in which the greatest impediment to foreign missions has come from persons bearing the Christian name. So rigorous was the

treatment of the slaves as to cut off all access to them. To the west of the Rio de Berbice, on one of its tributaries, the Wironje, at a distance of a hundred miles from the seacoast, the Brethren secured (1738) a little resting-place, which they called Pilgerhut, and there won the confidence of neighboring Arawak Indians, some of whom had a partial understanding of the Dutch language. This imperfect opportunity for communicating the truths of Christianity was improved by the Moravians, so far as the necessities of labor for their own subsistence would allow. Other helpers joined them (1739–1741). Having acquired some knowledge of the Arawak language — the softest of all Indian tongues, with a great variety of moods and tenses, and capable of great nicety of expression — they began to seek out more distant savages in the wilderness, carrying provisions with them, traversing broad streams, and sleeping in the forest. For translating the story of Christ's love and suffering into the vernacular, as well as in preaching, they had the assistance of a mulatto, whom a gentleman gave to them, and who afterwards became a preacher. At length a serious impression was made upon the Indians, though for the first eight years it seemed to be hoping against hope. Within less than ten years (1748), forty-five persons were received into the church, and many of these converts put up their huts at Pilgerhut.

Related Indians on the Orinoco and on the Corentyn, hearing through converts the good news of salvation, visited the Christian settlement (1750), and learned the gospel message more fully, which resulted in several companies of heathen coming to live at Pilgerhut.

But the great Adversary of missions seemed bent on injuring, indeed on ruining, the settlement. An order came from the colonial government forbidding these accessions, and requiring the missionaries to clothe the converts, and to pay a tax for each of them! Two of the Christian Indians were impressed into military service, which struck terror into their companions, who fled to the woods. Some of the Moravians felt constrained to return to Europe; others remained and toiled on, notwithstanding manifold obstacles, and they were cheered by finding that the gospel exerted its transforming power even upon cannibal tribes — tribes far more barbarous than the Arawaks.

By the year 1756, Pilgerhut had grown to be a Christian colony of two hundred and thirty-three souls, not including unbaptized children; and three hundred believers had been won. Among them there were clear cases of genuine conversion. Take a specimen. One of the natives, desiring to write to the Moravians in Europe, dictated a letter as follows: "Having arrived at manhood, I spent many years without

any knowledge of my Saviour. When I afterwards became desirous to experience what I had heard, it was granted me. Jesus has cleansed me in his blood, and delivered me from my disobedience. This truth, that he died and shed his blood for me, hath conquered and captivated my heart. This I can never forget; and therefore will I love him with all my soul, and daily give my heart to him."[1] The superintendent of the mission, Mr. Schumann, called the "Apostle of the Arawaks," as John Eliot had been called the "Apostle of the Indians" in Massachusetts — a man who, four months after his arrival, began to preach in the vernacular — was obliged to visit Europe (1758). No ordained laborer then remained; a destructive sickness raged; famine followed, and, finally, an insurrection of negroes (1763), who laid waste the surrounding country, and brought the mission to a close. The Brethren's property, to a considerable amount, together with an Arawak grammar and dictionary, was destroyed.

Not long after the station just named was established at Pilgerhut in Berbice, the Moravians of Herrnhut sent out the nucleus of a settlement to Surinam, Dutch Guiana (1739). This was under an agreement with the Surinam Company; and Paramaribo, the capital, and indeed the only

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[1] Holmes's *Missions of the United Brethren*, 245–6.

town, was their destination. But, as their neighbors, whether Jews or nominal Christians, were forbidden by Government to attend domestic worship with them, and as manual labor for their own support left no opportunity for visiting the Indians, they removed to the banks of the Cottika, a tributary of the Corentyn, which joins the river Surinam just at its entrance into the sea. There were Arawaks in the neighborhood, but the Brethren had only a slight acquaintance with the language; they became divided among themselves, and that place too was abandoned (1745).

Nearly a decade after their advent in Guiana, another Moravian settlement was begun (1747), two tracts of land being procured — one on the river Corentyn, at the extreme west of Dutch Guiana, receiving the name of Ephraim; the other on the waters of the Saramacca, called Sharon, a little west of the Surinam River. Conversions among the native tribes took place, and there was much to encourage the hope of great success; but the Bush Negroes, runaway slaves, brought ruin to this settlement also. Its existence was an object of strong dislike to these self-emancipated Africans, because the Caribs, who now built villages on the Saramacca, laid in wait for the fugitives, being allowed fifty florins by the Dutch Government for every one whom they seized. The Bush Negroes made an assault on

Sharon, killed some, seized a number of prisoners, and set fire to the premises. With a company of Indians, the two missionaries left after a while. They were, however, reinforced by three more from Europe; but, a few days after their arrival, two of them died, and, in less than a year, two more of the party. Notwithstanding a measure of spiritual prosperity later, it became necessary to abandon the place (1779).

In 1757, Missionary Dähne took up his abode on the Corentyn in the midst of an utter wilderness. His life was repeatedly threatened by roving Indians; he soon fell sick. We will listen to his own account of yet other perils: "One evening, being unwell and going to lie down in my hammock, upon entering the door of my hut, I perceived a large serpent descending upon me from a shelf near the roof. In the scuffle, the creature stung or bit me two or three times in the head, and, pursuing me very closely, twined itself several times round my head and neck. Supposing that this would be the occasion of my departing this life, I, for the satisfaction of my brethren, wrote the cause of my death in a few words with chalk upon the table, 'A serpent has killed me,' lest they should charge the Indians with the deed. But on a sudden that promise of our Saviour to his disciples was impressed upon my mind, 'They shall take up serpents, and it shall not harm them' (Mark xvi: 18), and,

seizing the creature with great force, I tore it loose and flung it out of the hut. I then laid down to rest in the peace of God." With no earthly companion, the dear man, in spite of privations, was still contented and happy. What a record does he make! "Our Saviour was always with me, and comforted me with his gracious presence, so that I can truly say I spent my time in happiness and peace." After two years of solicitude and peril, Dähne was relieved by three missionaries, who built a little church and dwelling-house and laid out a plantation, to which they gave the renewed name of Ephraim. Besides the Arawaks, many Caribs and Warows visited the place, and, when listening to the story of the cross, sometimes showed by their tears that their hearts were touched. The rebellion of negro slaves (1763) broke up this station as well; but, two years later, the Brethren selected a place twelve miles farther up the river, which they named Hoop. Thither baptized natives and others began to resort, so that by 1783 the Christian Indians belonging to the settlement numbered one hundred and sixty-seven.

Among the worthy men who at different times joined the mission, was John Jacob Gottlob Fischer (1789), a man of rare energy and aptitude for the place. Only a few months were needed by him for mastering the Arawak language sufficiently to preach in it. He had yet

earlier opened a school for children. Epidemic diseases, however, hostile negroes, incendiary fires, scarcity, and the war between Holland and England, finally broke up the station at Hoop (1808). It was afterwards reoccupied (1812–1816), and then again relinquished. It will be recollected that Surinam, having been seized by the English, was in 1676 restored to Holland, in exchange for New York.

Hitherto we have been considering mission work, which continued for seventy years, among the Indians of Guiana. We now turn to a different race — the race which engaged our attention in the last lecture. In the West Indies, fugitive slaves are called Maroons; in Guiana, as before stated, Bush Negroes. They are numerous; instead of diminishing, they have increased in numbers, being now estimated at seventeen thousand, while the whole population is perhaps seventy-five thousand. They have a superior physique, and, from their acquaintance with the colonies and with retreats inaccessible to white men, have many times proved dangerous neighbors. Scattered bands combine, and thus render themselves formidable; hence a cordon of forts was constructed by the Dutch for the defense of the colony at a cost of seventeen millions of guilders. The Government of Surinam, after making peace in 1764 with the free negroes — free because fugitives from bondage — solicited the Moravians to

send missionaries among them. The next year three Brethren went out and settled on the Saramacca. The language of the Bush Negroes is a conglomerate of several European tongues and fragments of African dialects. They had retained their African superstitions, and were in bondage to heathen priests and priestesses skilled in practicing on the credulity of the people. Like the same class in many parts of the world, these impostors would pretend to become possessed of the spirit of some patron divinity, and, under such alleged inspiration, exhibit the most violent agitation and frightful bodily contortions. I have witnessed such in India, and can hardly conceive of anything more demoniacal in appearance. Instinctively these sorcerers array themselves against the missionaries, "their craft being in danger to be set at naught;" and the Moravians, with all their experience in unpromising fields, have seldom found one more discouraging than this. Still, they were not absolutely without success; and it was a great help that the chief of the Saramacca Bush Negroes, Arabi, the first convert and first native teacher of his nation, became a true Christian and their firm friend. He was a man of strong good sense. Before avowing himself a convert, having heard the missionaries say that no idol could help or hurt any one, he went to the river where an alligator, the village god, had his haunt. Seeing the creature, he delivered this

harangue: "I intend to shoot thee. Now, if thou art a god, my bullet will do thee no harm; if thou art a mere creature, it will kill thee." His shot was fatal. After becoming a Christian, he one day took occasion to address the heathen with great plainness in regard to future punishment; but some of them replied that, as so many were to share in it, the suffering would be less to each one. To which Arabi answered: "Try the experiment, and all of you put your fingers together into the fire, and let us see whether each individual will not feel the same pain as if he were alone."

The negroes moved their settlement from time to time. Bambey and New Bambey (1784), which became the capital of the Bush Negroes, are stations well known in earlier Moravian annals. The Brethren gave the former place (1773) that name because, in the native language, the word signifies *Only Wait*, or *Have Patience* — Bambey, "By-and-by." This significance conveys a needful suggestion. In view of frequent sickness and deaths, and the intense superstition of the negroes, these missionaries had need of "long patience." In all evangelistic fields, some spot may be looked for which will bear to be christened "Only Wait."

The roving habits of Bush Negroes greatly interfered with their progress. Occasionally, as in 1810, a revival of diabolism seized upon them. The diffi-

culty of obtaining supplies of food and other necessaries, and the debilitating effects of the climate, often brought the missionaries into a pitiable condition. One of the Brethren, Rudolph Stoll, relates that, while suffering from a most dangerous attack of acclimating fever, his body was covered with painful sores. Lying in his cot, alone and helpless as a child, he saw an immense swarm of ants enter through the roof and spread themselves over the inside of his apartment. Expecting to be devoured by these voracious visitors, he commended his soul to God, and looked for speedy release from suffering. The insects covered his bed, entered his sores, caused intense pain, but soon retired; and from that time the good man began to recover.

In 1790, the negroes in Upper Bushland showed a strong desire to be taught, and were visited from time to time; but sickness and deaths among the missionaries prevented the establishment of a station in that quarter. By the close of the century (1773–1800), fifty-nine heathen at Bambey had received baptism, of whom seventeen had died in the faith, and there were forty-nine persons then belonging to the congregation. Portions of the New Testament, as well as a hymn-book, have been translated into the native language. Erasmus Schmidt repaired to the place (1840) and labored abundantly, till he fell a victim to the deadly climate (1845).

Afterwards (1848) the station was removed to the waterfall Gansee, two days' journey beyond the bounds of the colony, where Barsoe began his labors in 1849, but died after a few months. For three years (1850–1853), the widow of Missionary Hartmann remained there alone, instructing old and young, and exhibiting a rare amount of unostentatious, persistent heroism. Eighteen years, from 1826 onward, she labored with her husband; but after his death, so far from leaving the country or seeking a post of comfort, she volunteered for the hardest service and the most unhealthy region. She went among the Bush Negroes, in their land of death, and everywhere secured their confidence and gratitude. Through her whole missionary career, she manifested a devotedness rarely seen. Wherever the climate was most unhealthy, the privations greatest, and service the most laborious, thither was she ready to go. At Berg-en-Dal, notwithstanding the enmity of the man who managed the plantation there, and who would gladly have driven her away, but dared not for fear of incensing his negroes, she stayed on. Contempt, poverty, disease, could not force her away. At the station Koffy Camp, in an ordinary negro hut open on both sides, she lived among wild and lawless savages, suffering from an entire want of suitable food. Fully entitled is her name to a place among the heroines of the missionary enterprise.

She was a mother of missionaries. One son, formerly among the Australian natives of Victoria, is at this time among Indians in Canada; another son has seen more than thirty years of useful service, chiefly in Kaffraria, where he lost all his private property in the recent Basuto war. A daughter became the wife of a missionary, Mr. Heyde, at Kyelang in Thibet.

Two Moravians, Sand (1851) and Bauch (1854), were taken fatally sick almost immediately upon their arrival at this place. Since then the congregation, numbering one hundred and seventy souls, has been without a settled missionary.

Just a century having elapsed, there was a spiritual awakening among heathen dwellers in the dense forests of the interior, far up the Surinam and Saramacca rivers. This occurred at Gingee, the present name for Old Bambey, when the prayers of missionaries buried long ago seemed to be finding fulfillment in a renunciation of heathenism and a desire to become Christians. This was through the instrumentality of John King, a converted negro, belonging to the Matuari tribe, who made preaching tours among the Bush Negroes. The proposed visit of missionaries to that region was prevented by the death, within a few months, of five of their number. We will listen to John King, at Maripastoon, now an efficient helper

He tells us (1868) how his old associates were bent on holding him to their idolatry. "They said, 'You must kneel down and adore our god.' But I cried, 'No, no!' Upon this they fell into a violent rage, and were all very fierce, crying, 'And you shall worship our god before you are joined to the church.' Thus they all cried out at me. The noise wearied me when they surrounded me in this manner; yet I would not worship the idol. I fell on my knees, and prayed to God, saying, 'O my Lord Jesus, if I do all this of myself and in my own strength, then may all my words prove vain! But if thou, my Lord Jesus, hast thyself given me this charge to perform it, I pray thee, my Lord, help me, that thy words may be manifest, and that they may all perceive that thou hast called me!' And when I had thus called on the name of the Lord, they rose from their seats and went away murmuring."[1] Another, Kalkoen, an aged and influential chief, prayed thus at Maripastoon, one of the present out-stations: "I am a chieftain, O God, yet I am nothing. Thou hast appointed me to govern this people; as thy servant, I have to watch over it for good. But I have turned my back on thee in the darkness of my ignorance. I have followed the wicked customs of my ancestors, and obeahs and witchcraft and idolatry have made

[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXVIII, 146.

me turn my back on thee. But now I turn away from all these works of the Devil; I and my children will have nothing more to do with them forever. I was ignorant, O God, and therefore I sinned against thee; but now I feel my guilt. Pardon all my sins, O my God, and preserve me from returning to my old ways, and help me to obey thee. I desire now to be quite thine own. And now I ask thy aid to enable me to lead my children, my people, unto thee."[1]

The Moravian settlements established in behalf of Surinam slaves, being remote from the coast, made it desirable for one or more of the Brethren to live at Paramaribo, that there might be an agency in the capital. Hence another experiment was made in that city. The tailoring business was started; and, negroes hired from their masters being employed, access to slaves for religious instruction was thus obtained. The vehement prejudice which had existed in that city against the Moravians gradually yielded. Some of the negroes began to show an interest in the gospel, and at length were baptized (1776). A chapel was built (1778), and the next year there were a hundred negroes at the preaching service, besides forty who received special instruction with reference to being baptized. Converts displayed an intelligent firmness in

[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXV, 351.

maintaining a stand as Christians. While the heathen negroes were one day engaged in a dance, Governor Tessier went up to a female slave, whom he had known as a celebrated dancer, and, with a view to test her sincerity, offered her a present if she would join in the amusement — an unwarrantable temptation. Declining the bribe, she asked if he did not know that she, upon baptism, had changed her name from Krah to Elizabeth, and was no longer the same person. His Excellency replied: "Yes, I know it, and you do right; keep this in mind till the end of your life, and it will be well with you." A lad of sixteen, who was threatened by his master, a Jew, with flogging on account of his baptism, replied: "That you may do; but you cannot thereby rob me of the Lord Jesus, and the grace he has given me in these days."

At the opening of the present century, the baptized negroes amounted to three hundred and fifteen, besides many catechumens and other regular attendants at the chapel. Fifteen years later (1815), the congregation amounted to six hundred and sixty-three, of whom more than five hundred were communicants. One of the Brethren wrote: "Our monthly prayer-days, as also the communion-days, are distinguished by a peculiar experience of the grace and love of our Saviour toward his flock." Leprosy prevails to a sad extent among the negroes, and spiritual leprosy in

yet more revolting forms; but the word and grace of God prove adequate to remove this greater evil.

The missionaries at Paramaribo extended their labors to plantations round about. The Government became more favorably disposed, and consigned to them a piece of land on the river Commewyne, where had stood a fortification called Sommelsdyke, and two missionaries removed there (1786); but, the place being peculiarly unhealthy, both died within a few weeks. Similar mortality has also at times been experienced even at the capital. The case has occurred in which thirteen deaths have taken place among these Christian laborers within the space of six months. But men "baptized for the dead" were always ready to take places thus made vacant. At Sommelsdyke, before the end of the first year, more than forty slaves had been received into the church, and there were upwards of a hundred and fifty regular catechumens. On the part of masters there was opposition, some of whom exacted an increase of labor on the Sabbath in order to prevent the negroes from attending divine service; and yet the station was for a time successful, though in 1818 it had to be relinquished.

Taking an inventory of all these Moravian labors in English and Dutch Guiana, we find, at the opening of the present century, that, during the sixty-five years then closed, one hundred and fifty-nine brethren and sisters had been engaged

in the work; seventy-five of whom — more than one annually — had died on the ground, sixty-three had returned to Europe, and twenty-one were still at their stations. Eight hundred and fifty-five Indians, fifty-nine Bush Negroes, and seven hundred and thirty-one slaves had been baptized — sixteen hundred and forty-five in all. Some of the coolies also, brought from Eastern Asia, have shared in the blessings of that gospel which is carried to South America for the benefit of those whose proper home is Western Africa. Two years ago, all the adults baptized at one station in Demarara were Hindus. To the labors of Moravian missionaries, almost exclusively, are the black population of Surinam who profess Christianity indebted.

The station at Paramaribo is now flourishing. In 1828, a large new church was dedicated, the Government and citizens lending aid; and a society of wealthy inhabitants has been formed to assist the mission. A pleasing proof of the value now set upon Moravian ministrations is afforded by the fact of the erection of a church at Charlottenburg, which is situated in a curve of the river Commewyne, to which the congregation there contributed more than twelve hundred florins. Three negro brethren gave between them no less than sixty-four florins;[1] and a poor

[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXXII, 103.

old woman who brought five florins could not be persuaded to keep a part of this sum for her own necessities. For thirty-three years before the Emancipation Act, Government had commissioned the Moravians to take pastoral charge of slaves and prisoners in the forts and at military posts; yet, down to 1844, slaves were not allowed to learn to read. The city of Paramaribo, which presents an inviting appearance outwardly — the streets broad, straight, lined with orange, lemon, tamarind, and other trees — has been the scene of several great fires; but in the midst of them, one in 1821 and three in 1831, Divine Providence signally interposed to save the mission buildings. This is at present (1881) one of the most successful Moravian missions. The New Testament in Negro-English has been printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society; numerous stations have been begun, fourteen in all, with seventy-four missionaries and twenty-one thousand six hundred and eighty-three adherents, of whom more than six thousand (6,201) are communicant members; while in Demarara, or British Guiana, where the mission was renewed in 1878, there are two stations, four missionaries, and about three hundred church-members.

It was characteristic of Moravian habits of thought, especially the habit of ranking spiritual interests before all others, that the baptism of the first negro convert at Paramaribo should be

commemorated by a centenary observance (July 21, 1876). The church, which will seat two thousand four hundred persons, was decorated with garlands of flowers, and with various species of palm-branches; three public and thronged services were held; the *Te Deum*, translated into Negro-English, was sung; the document recording the baptism — nearly destroyed by the action of the climate — was brought out and read; and the occasion closed by the Brethren entering anew into covenant with one another to maintain mutual love and love to the Saviour, upon that opening of a new century of Christian labor.

On leaving the continent of South America, it may be well for us to have in mind a distinct impression regarding some of the present embarrassments under which Moravians are laboring. I do not now refer so much to those arising from the climate, or from the action of physical causes. For example, the work at Annaszorg was begun in 1850, on the banks of the Warappa Creek, which connects the river Commewyne with the sea twenty miles east of the river's mouth; but a shoal formed in front of the creek, that prevented the return, at ebb-tide, of water which the flood had brought. Plantations being thus ruined by salt water, owners and laborers were obliged to disperse. Nor do I refer to such slight annoyances as that the preacher may sometimes see r

parrot-snake drop from the rafters to the table where he stands. The visits which Moravians pay periodically to remote plantations are toilsome and hazardous boat-voyages. To reach, for instance, one of the present scenes of labor, Goejaba, the Brethren have to pass thirty-seven waterfalls at the risk of their lives. Generally, in the forest savannas stretching hundreds of miles, sufficient dry ground for an encampment can scarcely be found; anywhere there is a liability to a flight of poisoned arrows; everywhere the atmosphere is saturated with malaria; overhead among the trees are gigantic serpents; underneath are ferocious beasts; across one's path are the webs of monstrous and poisonous spiders; every decayed log swarms with centipedes or scorpions.[1]

Reference is had rather to social and moral impediments. The Emancipation Act did not take full effect till 1863, the decade of apprenticeship closing on July 1st of that year; but new difficulties have arisen from the very condition of freedom. The negro is morally feeble, and peculiarly fond of change. He is now at liberty to roam from one plantation to another, and hence is less likely to remain under uniform religious instruction and other good influences. Those more thrifty will perhaps get possession

[1] Field's *Indian Bibliography*, 45-46.

of an abandoned estate so remote or difficult of access as practically to put them beyond the reach of Christian labor. Meanwhile Jesuit Fathers offer pecuniary bribes to draw away those attending upon Protestant services, and Roman Catholic interference may be looked for on every mission-field under the sun. To some extent at the stations, and of course still more in wild forests, the besetting sins of gross sensualism abound; and, with even advanced converts, constant effort is required to neutralize a lurking tendency toward obeahism, and various superstitions brought from Africa. Sickness is deemed to result from some malignant charm, and cure is sought from a counter-charm. The unevangelized or partially evangelized savages often rub poison under their nails, with which they scratch and thus kill one another. Iron rings are worn on the knuckles, sharp at the outer edge and steeped in poison. No wonder Missionary Schmidt said, "We are, here, like a gnat against a tiger!" The natives are constantly tormented by superstitious fears. Reciprocal distrust reigns; every one is afraid of being poisoned or bewitched by his neighbor, and resorts to diabolical devices for protection. Is a snake killed unintentionally? It will be brought into the village with shouting, howling and dancing, which last for a day and night — sometimes for a week — till it is buried, in order to propitiate the evil spirits, which might otherwise

be angry at the death. Even at Paramaribo, many of the negroes have what they call the Bukru-sickness, by which is meant that they are seized with an evil spirit, who is represented as a specter that appears here and there in the form of a dwarf, and manifests his presence by rapping, and sometimes by throwing stones. Do not superstition and credulity show the unity of black and white races? As in the West Indies, the family life of the negro is generally of the grossest kind, with a sad want of order and decency.

Most disheartening is it to cast the good seed of the Word into such a slough. What reasonable expectation can there be that plants of righteousness will spring up? If religious fruits present anything more than the faintest resemblance to what is witnessed among superior races and older Christian communities, are not the conditions of probability fulfilled? Contemplate specimens. Here is one of the most hopeless of cases, Broos, who had been a notorious rebel chief of black freebooters in the forests, and who yet became a sincere convert two years ago (1879). Do deeper convictions fasten upon any of our backsliders than upon this one at Goejaba? "My sins go over my head; I have denied my Lord more than Peter did. My conscience leaves me no rest night or day. Oh, tell me what to do to get rid of this fearful curse that rests upon

me, for I can bear it no longer! My sin is terribly great."[1] Do we, in our neighborhood, occasionally hear delightful testimonies to the grace of God on beds of pain? Missionary Lebart writes (1866): "A young woman suffering from leprosy, when asked how she was, said, 'Oh, teacher, I am doing very well, thanks to the Saviour!' 'But,' I said, 'you are lying there quite alone and suffering great pain.' 'Oh, yes,' she replied, 'my sufferings are sometimes fearful, and occasionally fever and cold come in addition to my old disease, and I feel intense pain in my back and stomach, so that for many nights I cannot get any sleep. Still it is well with me, for the Saviour is near and comforts me; and this is so delightful that I can sometimes, for a brief moment, forget my sufferings. Sometimes the Holy Spirit leads me to Gethsemane, before Pilate and Herod, and to Golgotha; and then I say to myself, 'Behold what the Saviour has borne for me! Surely I ought to be able to bear a little pain, for I am a sinful creature. Nothing delights me more than the contemplation of our Saviour's atoning death, and his words and deeds, and the Psalms. Oh, teacher, I cannot say enough about the joy and comfort I derive from them.'"[2]

What can our religion do for the negro women

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[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXVI, 395.

[2] *Periodical Accounts*, XXVI, 397–8.

of Guiana? Abiena, who had been a most bigoted, benighted heathen and a fierce enemy to the Christians, presented herself for baptism at Koffy Camp (1866), and received the name of Eve. Weeping for joy at the ordinance, she addressed those present: "My brethren and sisters, listen to what I have to say. We are here in God's presence. He hears and sees everything. He knows us all thoroughly. He also knows me. I do not know much; but this one thing I truly know, that I am now a child of God and Jesus Christ, who purchased me, a poor, poor being, with his blood. You know that I was a servant and slave to the Devil, but — great, great praise be to God on high! — that is all past and gone. Do you hear that? The Saviour has made me free. His death is my life. This heart of mine belongs to him. I will cleave to him. Thus I will live, thus I will die. These are my words, and they show truly what is in my heart."[1]

At the centenary in Paramaribo, it appeared that in that place twelve thousand persons have been baptized, and seven thousand and three hundred have been admitted to the Lord's Supper. In the congregation, at that date, there were over two thousand communicants (2,443), and there are six thousand eight hundred souls under the charge of the Brethren.

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[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXVIII, 148.

We now proceed northward; and it will be noticed that, throughout these lectures, the order in which missions are taken up is determined partly by geographical, as well as chronological, relationship. From Guiana to the Mosquito coast is a sail equal to two thirds of the distance from here to England. This tract, called Mosquitia, on the northeastern projection of Central America, washed by the Caribbean Sea, is a small native state, with an area of from fifteen to twenty thousand miles — the same as West Virginia. The coast, for about two hundred miles, from Bluefields Lagoon to Cape Gracias à Dios, is low, level, hot and humid; lagoons and inland channels communicating with one another are numberless; the country well watered, extremely fertile, with a tropical vegetation exceedingly varied and luxuriant. Mahogany and other hard woods grow in great profusion, and are largely exported; India rubber has also become an important article of trade. Cedars of prodigious size, and reaching a height of two hundred feet, may be seen. Here too is the towering *Palma Real*, cabbage-palm, the most beautiful of all trees belonging to that family in our hemisphere. Jaguars abound in the forests; apes are abundant; venomous serpents are common in the gardens and houses, and alligators in the rivers.

The population consists chiefly of Indians —

Wulwa, Smu, Waiknas, and Caribs, the other name for whom, *Cannibals*, has entered our language as a common noun, and indicates one of the horrid practices of that fierce race.[1] Of these tribes, the Moseos, Mosquitos,[2] from whom the country takes its name, are superior to the rest; though all are squalid savages, ignorant and degraded, among whom polygamy and infanticide are common. They subsist for the most part by the chase and by fishing; but their principal source of gain from May to August is the tortoise. Like all such people, they are thoroughly improvident; and the Indian, if he has nothing to eat, invites himself to some hut not so badly off as his own. And here again, back from the coast, we light upon Bush Negroes, who poison one another in their bread and their rum; who are swayed by a dark, gross idolatry, each village having a special god. Stones, trees, wood-ants and serpents are worshiped. There are also black and colored Creoles, Samboes or half Indians. Among these various races, regard is paid exclusively to evil spirits, their whole religion consisting in a dread of malignant powers and of death. Siva, the spirit of the waters,

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[1] *Edaces humanarum carnium novi helluones anthropophagi, Caribes alias Cannibales appellati.*— Peter Martyr.

[2] *Die Moseos oder Mosquito — Indianer, eigentlich Missitos, sind keine reinen Indianer mehr, sondern fast sämmtlich Mulatten und Sambos.*— Waitz: *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, IV, s. 289

is deemed peculiarly powerful; the rainbow is his ensign, which he hoists when angry. Hence natives will not leave the house while a rainbow is visible. Thus they pervert the divine token of peace and covenant promise into a symbol of terror. Medical sorcerers of both sexes, Sukias, so called, supposed to have supernatural agency, are at hand.

The whole population of Mosquitia probably does not exceed one hundred thousand, if indeed it is not much less. The chief town, Bluefields, is a village straggling for a mile and a half along a lagoon, and has eight or nine hundred inhabitants, Negroes, Mulattoes, Spaniards, Englishmen, Americans, and a few Germans; the English language being in use there, and somewhat generally on the coast. Intemperance is almost universal. Occasional tornadoes bring devastation; that of 1865 destroyed nearly all the churches and mission houses, and that of October, 1877, left only twelve houses standing in Bluefields.

The Mosquito shore was formerly under the protection of Great Britain. It will be recollected that the difficulties which had arisen here between the United States and Great Britain were settled by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which bound those governments "not to occupy, fortify, colonize, or exercise dominion over, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central

America." The proceedings of England have seemed, from the first, very much like a political farce. In 1687, a Mosquito chief was taken to Jamaica, with a view to his placing the country under the protection of Great Britain. Sir Hans Sloane relates how the man, escaping from his keepers, "pulled off the European clothes his friends had put on, and climbed to the top of a tree." A more recent Mosquito monarch was crowned at Belize in 1825; and an English writer, describing the occasion, says: "Before his chiefs could swear allegiance to their monarch, it was necessary that they should profess Christianity; and accordingly, with shame be it recorded, they were baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. They displayed total ignorance of this ceremony, and, when asked to give their names, took the titles of Lord Rodney, Lord Nelson, or some other celebrated officer, grievously disappointed when told that they could only be baptized by simple Christian names. After this solemn mockery was concluded, the whole assembly adjourned to a large schoolroom, to eat the coronation dinner, when these poor creatures got intoxicated with rum — a suitable conclusion to a farce as wicked and blasphemous as ever disgraced a Christian country."[1] In 1861, the independence of Mos-

[1] Dunn's *Central America*, 1828.

quitia was proclaimed, and King George, an Indian, was recognized as hereditary chief. At the present time, the political condition is extremely unsettled. The Government of Nicaragua is endeavoring to obtain possession of the coast, and no law or safety exists. Captains in the navy and in the merchant-service, who visit the coast, have been in the habit of baptizing children whether their parents are married or not. Roman Catholic priests will baptize any who desire it, without the least instruction, six shillings a head being the price. Anglo-Saxon residents sometimes sink below the natives in their morals. Indian and negro, by three hundred years of contact with what is called civilization, had failed to be in the least elevated thereby. Nothing worth speaking of had been done by the English toward Christianizing natives; while the habits and influence of American sea-captains and traders were, for the most part, grossly demoralizing.

In 1849, three Moravians commenced this, the most recent but one of their missions, establishing themselves at Bluefields; and the same year the first convert, a negro woman, received baptism. In 1855, Princess Matilda, half-sister of the king, so called, was baptized — the first-fruits of an ingathering from the Indians, though her life afterwards did not honor the profession she had made. "Put not your trust in princes." As might be

expected, opposition has been met with from the Roman Catholics of Nicaragua; and the Nicaraguan Government, by laying excessive import duties, aimed to break up the mission (1865). Yet the Brethren have succeeded in establishing a number of stations and a number of schools. To catch the attention, to awaken an interest in things spiritual, has required great patience. Look in, for a moment, upon a service conducted at an Indian dwelling. You shall see people lying listless in their hammocks or on the ground; some one at the door with a long stick is hardly able to keep off dogs and cattle, but does succeed by his noise in drowning the preacher's voice. Yet faith has triumphed. At Bluefields, polygamy, once universal, is now unknown. Instead of naked savages, men and women are seen suitably clothed; and a collection, amounting to ninety-five dollars, was recently (1881) taken up among them in aid of South-African sufferers by the Basuto war. Not long ago (1876), two Germans arranged a dance, but found to their surprise that only a few of the lowest people attended it. Displeased at this, they wished to arrange a ball, as they called it, and, going to a native member of the Moravian church, offered him fifty dollars for the loan of his house to dance in for one night. He answered that he belonged to the church, and did not approve of it. "But," said these

gentlemen, "the Lord Jesus himself danced when he was on earth." Hereupon the brother placed a Bible on the table, and asked them to show him the place where that was written. The Germans took their hats and left.

The schools established have accomplished something; but the use of the English language is inadequate, and inappropriate for effecting the elevation of the people. At the present time there has come to be a fashion, almost a mania, throughout the missionary world, for the use of our mother tongue, which often occasions an unproductive outlay of time, strength and funds. At Ephrata, in this Central-American mission, an Indian, who had been brought up at the Mission House, was lately (1881) found able to read the Bible fluently in English, while at the same time he confessed that he knew nothing at all of the meaning of the words. The Moravians in Mosquitia have happily become convinced that they must master the vernacular, though a very difficult language, and they have already prepared a small grammar and vocabulary. In 1862, a man and woman were baptized at Ephrata. In 1862, the first man of the Wulwa tribe received the same ordinance at Magdala — a tribe living along rivers somewhat in the interior; and within the last twelvemonth (1880–81) there has been a religious awakening at that station, the Holy Spirit being

poured out on Indians, Creoles and Spaniards; and, in the course of one month, fifty converts were added to the church. During the present year (1881), there has been a work of special grace at Bluefields also, from which place a missionary wrote in August: "Last week, one hundred persons joined the church, and at our evening meetings the crowd is such that we can not kneel to pray." The number of stations is seven;[1] of missionaries, fourteen; and of members, one thousand one hundred and forty-six.

Two lectures have now been devoted to a survey of Moravian mission-work on the islands and the mainland that border the Caribbean Sea. Not as mere tourists, but as Christian visitors, have we made this survey; and, before leaving the region, we will cast a rapid glance at the shores of that sea, a body of water twice the size of the Gulf of Mexico. In aspect and in some of the physical conditions, the surroundings of this little ocean are nowhere surpassed on the face of the globe for beauty, or for a teeming and magnificent vegetation. The climate is, for the tropics, mild and agreeable, oceanic rather than continental, with an entire exemption from the hot, parching winds to which India and the Medi-

[1] One of these is *Ramah* — repeating the name of a station in Greenland, and of another in Labrador. But in Palestine there were six or seven places having substantially the same designation — *Ramah*.

terranean are subject. The winter, especially of the West India Islands — I speak from some measure of personal acquaintance — cannot be excelled anywhere on the face of the earth. The atmosphere is balmy, and at night intensely serene; the moonlight so brilliant as to enable one to read the finest print, and Venus uniformly casts a shadow.

> "Beautiful islands! where the green
> Which Nature wears was never seen
> 'Neath zone of Europe; where the hue
> Of sea and heaven is such a blue
> As England dreams not; where the night
> Is all irradiate with the light
> Of starlike moons, which, hung on high,
> Breathe and quiver in the sky."

Yet here is the home of tempests, the focus of devastating hurricanes, of which more than one hundred and thirty have been distinctly recorded since the archipelago began to have a place in historical records. Earthquakes are not uncommon; volcanic mountains and active volcanoes are found. The whole chain, stretching from Florida round to the South-American coast, has the appearance of a submerged mountain system, whose peaks alone indicate the line of the old connection, like the masts of a sunken fleet once drawn up in a half-moon; the Great Antilles answering to the heavy line-of-battle ships, and the Caribbee Islands to smaller men-of-war and transports.

Nature is here in sympathy with man, and is the reflex of history. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." No quarter of the world shows a darker history than this. The Caribbean Sea was the peculiar field of the buccaneers. Bluefields and Belize, the capital towns of two Central-American states, were named for two famous pirates. Numerous lagoons, bays and inlets, clothed to the water's edge with the dark-green mangrove, furnished those daring marauders with ready places of concealment; and, for a century and a half, the villanies of piracy made these fair regions the abode of terror. But, in the more normal course of human society, we behold Columbus, after twenty years of neglect and ridicule, having set foot on San Salvador and opened a new hemisphere to the astonished nations of Europe, ordered home in chains, the victim of envy and intrigue — all but his chains being taken from him; so that he who gave Spain another world had neither safety in it, nor yet a cottage for himself or his wretched family.[1]

Looking at the original inhabitants, we see Caribs, strongly built, fierce, warlike, a terror to milder tribes, a sort of tropical Vikings; far more numerous, the gentle and peaceable Arawaks;

[1] *Letter of Columbus to King Ferdinand*, 1504.

yet, with the exception of a few wretched relics still remaining on four of the smaller islands, all were expelled or exterminated long ago. The inhabitants of Hispaniola, computed to have been a million, were soon reduced to sixty thousand Natives of the Lucayan Islands, to the number of twelve thousand, early became extinct through hard service under ground or by famine. Never was a more tantalizing or diabolical cruelty than that practiced by Spaniards, who, finding that these simple islanders entertained the idea that departed souls go to blissful regions in the South, persuaded them that they had come from that paradise, and would take the Lucayans where they should see their friends and enjoy all manner of delights. Thus seduced, they accompanied the Spaniards to Hispaniola and Cuba, where they found themselves victims of the cruelest slavery, from which suicide was their only relief. Perfidy the most monstrous, brutality without parallel, characterized the Castilians. Here first, in capturing natives, they employed mastiffs, trained to mangle their bodies if resistance was offered. They, not the natives, deserved to be called savages. This New World seemed to them a paradise; they made it a slaughter-house, and one generation sufficed very nearly to accomplish the work of extermination. At first the credulous natives took the Spaniards to be more than men; they soon found them not

less than devils. "Holy Mother Church" had no protest to utter. The tender-hearted Las Casas was at first only sneered at or browbeaten.[1] In her impious, proselyting bigotry, Rome could sanction the forcing of captives into the water, and, after baptism had been administered to them, the cutting of their throats to prevent what was called apostasy. There were Spaniards who, in their frenzied fanaticism, vowed to hang or burn thirteen natives every morning, in honor of the Saviour and his twelve apostles. "O Liberty!" cried Madame Roland on reaching the scaffold, "what crimes are perpetrated in thy name!" "O Christianity!" we cry, "what crimes are committed in thy name!" South and Central America, as well as regions farther to the north and to the south, supplied a quota for the awful holocaust which Spanish invaders offered to their god Mammon.[2]

As if it were not enough to enslave and exterminate aboriginal races, Africa must be subsidized by the same relentless greed. Hence a

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[1] The Bishop of Burgos, when informed by him how seven thousand Indian children had perished in three months for want of parents who had been sent to the mines, said, laughingly: "Look you! what a droll fool! What is this to me, and what is it to the king?"

[2] Altogether about sixteen millions of natives, Robertson in his *History of America* asserts, were destroyed during the wars which they waged in this New World.

bonus upon war and cruelty between the tribes of that continent to supply the West India and South-American market; hence the horrors of the middle passage — a space only ten or fifteen inches wide being allowed to each person. The poor creatures were stowed in like so many bales of goods, and fifteen per cent sometimes died on the voyage. To know the slave trade, one must see the handcuffs and leg-bolts for linking human beings two and two; the thumb-screws for torturing them; and the instrument for wrenching open the mouths of such as refused to eat. At the time Herrnhut was founded, two hundred English vessels were engaged in the slave trade; and, in the course of a century (1680–1786), two million one hundred and thirty thousand negroes were imported into the British West Indies.

For wretched Africans kidnapped, treated thus, and forced into servitude, could there be any hope? Has any improvement been effected? Long ago, one not a missionary, a planter, gave answer: "Formerly we could hardly procure ropes enough on Monday for punishing those slaves who had committed crimes on Sunday, twenty, thirty and even more being hung; but, since the gospel has been preached to them, scarcely two are hung in a whole year, and these, for the most part, are strange negroes, who have not been long on the island." Not till the third decade of the present century could

a beginning be made in the work of negro education, even on the English islands, nor till the year 1841 on the Danish islands. For more than a hundred years, the Brethren had not been allowed to open a school, that the slave might learn to read the Word of God; nor in other ways had they more than the slightest opportunity to instruct children and youths.

When it is considered in what a savage state the slave trade delivered to the West-Indian and South-American planter its victims, worshipers of fetiches and believers in obeahism, how very unfavorable for Christian access was their condition of hard bondage, it must be conceded that a most noble achievement was effected by the United Brethren. They inaugurated a change in the moral aspect of the region. Other Christian bodies, following their example, have also done nobly. Even for the sake of their own personal safety, planters might well have borne the whole expense of these missions. "What security have you," said the Moravian Bishop Joannes de Watteville, son-in-law of Zinzendorf, to the Governor of one of these islands, more than a hundred years ago — "what security have you against the slaves rising and destroying you all?" The Governor took him to a window, and, directing his attention to some Moravian mission-stations, answered: "This is our security. Negroes who are converted will never rise

in rebellion; and their number is so great that the others could never conspire without their knowledge, and they would inform us."

It has been the lot of these humble evangelists to be little known or appreciated by either the literary [1] or the commercial world. But the abject man, African and Indian, of dark skin and of darkened understanding, has felt the quickening power of Christian love; he has found there is a white man not too proud to enter his hut, to sit down by his side, tell him what Jesus Christ has done, what a heaven there is for the believing barbarian no less than for the believing European, and it has filled him with wonder; it has made him first a man, then a new man in Christ Jesus. The savage can be saved.

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[1] Mr. Anthony Trollope remarks in his *West Indies and Spanish Main:* "At thirty a man devotes himself to proselyting; and, if the people be not proselytized when he reaches forty, he retires in disgust." From his flippant and unphilanthropic estimate of the negroes in those islands, Mr. Trollope, like too many others, appears to have taken no pains to learn what Christian men have done in their behalf, and, least of all, to acquaint himself with the persevering labors of Moravian Brethren.

LECTURE V.

MISSION TO GREENLAND.

MISSION TO GREENLAND.

THE course of Divine Providence is a chain, of which some events seem to be insignificant. In the movements of men, incidental results are often more important than the leading object. A shepherd boy, sent with supplies to his brethren in camp, becomes at once the champion, and afterwards the monarch, of Israel. John Milton, traveling in Italy, witnesses a rude drama called *A Mystery*, and *Paradise Lost* is the result. Count Zinzendorf visits Copenhagen to attend the coronation of King Christian VI, and the two earliest foreign missions of the United Brethren come into being.

We have already seen how the mission which first gave the gospel to West-Indian slaves took its rise; we are now to learn how Moravians came to engage, the very next year, in Arctic evangelization. Zinzendorf, a personal friend of the new Danish monarch, was not attracted to Copenhagen by a desire to witness the pageantry of a state occasion; he was intent on serving the King of kings. The God of missions, in leading him to that court at that time, had large thoughts concerning him. While there (1731),

he sees two Eskimos, who were baptized by Egede, the Danish missionary; he hears much about that remarkable man's labors, and learns with grief that the mission to Greenland was to be given up. Returning to Herrnhut, he speaks of that country and its perishing heathen. A simultaneous impression is made, not only upon Dober and Leupold, who offer themselves for Christian service among the negroes of St. Thomas, as has already been narrated, but upon two others. One of them, Matthew Stach, tells the story thus: "I was then at work with Frederick Bönisch on the burying-ground called the Hutberg. He was the first person I made acquainted with what passed in my mind; and I found that he had been actuated, on the same occasion, with the same desire to promote the salvation of the heathen. . . . As we were both of one mind, and confidently believed that our Saviour's promise would be verified to us, 'If two of you shall agree on earth,' etc., therefore we retired to the wood just at hand, and kneeled down before him, and begged him to clear up our minds in this important affair, and to lead us in the right way. Thereupon our hearts were filled with uncommon joy, and we omitted no longer to lay our desire before the congregation in writing, with perfect resignation as to which tribe of heathen our allotment should be, though we felt the strongest leaning to the Greenlanders."

Some time elapsed before any reply was made to this offer. Such an undertaking then required the test of much deliberation and earnest supplication. In the mean time, Frederick Bönisch went on a long journey; and Christian David, the leader of emigrants from Moravia, who felled the first tree at Herrnhut, conceived a desire to accompany this pioneer party to Greenland, and see them settled there, as Nitschmann accompanied Dober to St. Thomas. Matthew Stach, speaking of himself and his cousin Christian Stach, who was to be associated with him, says: "We had nothing but the clothing on our backs. We had been used to make shift with a little, and did not trouble our heads how we should get to Greenland or live there." It was an impulse from Heaven that moved those young men. They belonged to a good stock; the fathers of both had been severely punished for the flight of their sons from Moravia, the land of religious darkness and tyranny; had even been put in irons and sentenced to hard labor. Among the various and rare mineral treasures of their native land, these Brethren must be accounted as two of her choice opals.

The three men, Christian David and the cousins Stach,[1] set out for Denmark January 11, 1733. At Copenhagen they found great uncer-

[1] Often spoken of by mistake as if they were brothers.

tainty whether the Danish mission of Egede, which had been established about ten years before, would be renewed; they found that their own expedition was by many deemed romantic and ill-timed; and, supposing they could reach the country, how were they to subsist there? If not murdered, they must starve! Persisting in their purpose, they made application to the first lord of the bedchamber, Count von Pless, who at once stated many difficulties. No wonder their plan seemed chimerical! If the well-educated, indefatigable Egede, in circumstances comparatively favorable, had accomplished so little, what could be expected from these uneducated, unordained artisans? Lay missionaries were at that time a novelty. But Count von Pless saw they were men of faith; and, remembering that in all ages God has often chosen the "weak things of the world," he commended them to the king, who at length resolved to renew communication with Greenland, and encourage endeavors to Christianize the heathen there. With his own hand, he wrote to Egede, commending these humble brethren to his kind regard. Count von Pless became a good deal impressed by the earnest simplicity of the men, and, unsolicited, made them a present toward the expense of their voyage and early settlement. "But how do you propose to procure food in Greenland?" he inquires. "By the labor of our hands," they an-

swer, "and God's blessing. We will build us a house and cultivate the land"—not knowing that they would find little besides rock and ice. The Count objects, "There is no wood to build with." They answer, "Then we will dig in the earth and lodge there." "No," said the Count, "you shall not be driven to that shift. Take wood with you and build a house; accept these fifty dollars for the purpose." Other distinguished persons added to their stock.

In the month of April (1733), they embarked on his Majesty's ship *Caritas*, and, after a voyage of six weeks, entered Ball's River, almost the only river in Greenland. But to what have they come? The peculiar home of the fox and the white bear, and of sea-fowls so numerous as at times to darken the air. With few other exceptions, there is little land-life. Almost the only relief is that no venomous reptiles are found. The exuberance of terrestrial life and the magnitude of forms which characterize the tropics are here transferred to the water. The elephant and rhinoceros seem dwarfish beside that species of whale which sometimes attains a length of one hundred feet. Nillson, in his work on the Scandinavian fauna,[1] estimates the full-grown *Balaena mysticetus* at one hundred tons, or two hundred

[1] *Skandinavisk Fauna*, Vol. I, 623. Quoted by Dr. Robert Brown in *Manual of Instructions*, etc., 317.

thousand pounds, equal to eighty-eight elephants. From medusian animalcules in astonishing abundance, there is a gradation upwards to the walrus and the narwhal; each tribe of larger animals feeding upon one beneath, and all finding Polar pasture-ground immensely productive. From that great Arctic aquarium there come shoals of herring in dense masses, to supply food for nations in more hospitable regions. What Scandinavia once was to middle and lower Europe, such continually is that Polar sea to southern waters, the *officina gentium*.

We look more particularly at Greenland. Shall it be reckoned to America? Shall we call it an island, or a continent? It is four times the size of the present German Empire, a broad country, with only a narrow belt, chiefly on the western coast, accessible to man. We may term it the Polar Continent without an interior — any interior for the purposes of human existence. Indeed, if we understand by that term land or habitable foothold, it has no interior at all. Not "from Greenland's icy mountains" do "they call us to deliver." That is a poetic myth; there is no living creature on those hights to call. Ground, supposing it to exist, is no more visible, and is less accessible, than the bottom of the ocean. So far as exploration is concerned, we know no more of inner Greenland than was known when Eric the Red first set eyes upon the shore a thousand

years ago. All we can reasonably infer is that there exists one vast, dreary glacier expanse, devoid of beast, bird, or insect—a Sahara of ice instead of sand, where not even a moss or lichen appears. An awful silence reigns, broken only when the stormy wind arises. It must have been the same geographical irony which first called this Polar world Greenland that, at a later date, gave to one Arctic point the illusive name of Cape Comfort. Much more appropriately did John Davis, an English explorer in the sixteenth century (1585), christen it The Land of Desolation.

The conjecture seems to be reasonable that the country is a vast aggregate of rocky islands, cemented into unity by a mass of perpetual ice — the frozen Antilles of the North. The western coast, bold and rocky like that of Norway, is indented with numberless gulfs or fiords, and these are mere havens of icebergs. Falling snows accumulate on the higher portions of the universal ice-field; these consolidate, and, by their mass pressing upon the glaciers, help to force those congealed rivers down the valleys that open into the firths, where the huge extremities are broken off, not by gravitation, but by the buoyant action of the sea underneath. The mass groans and creaks; then follows a crash, with a roar like the discharge of artillery, attended by a tremendous agitation of waves, and an iceberg is launched.

Inlets extending sometimes a hundred miles are studded with icebergs, and form the highways by which those frozen mountains — which equal, including what is beneath as well as above the surface, the highest mountains in England — float out from the glaciers when these prolongations of the great *Mer de Glace* reach the sea. The mighty masses, sometimes almost regular crystals, sometimes in fantastic shapes, three fourths under water, find their way into Baffin's Bay, and southward into the Atlantic, imparting a chill to our seaboard till near midsummer. Are we impressed by the great ice-rivers of Switzerland? Yet how dwarfish are they beside Humboldt's glacier, which has a facial breadth of sixty miles! What terrestrial phenomenon can be more grand than such a glacial covering of the country, in some places probably thousands of feet thick, moving on slowly, century after century, and rolling frozen cataracts into the sea!

Here landed our missionaries. Hans Egede received them cordially.[1] From an early date the congregation at Herrnhut have annually compiled a little book containing two texts of Holy

[1] Not long afterwards, partly through the fault of Nitschmann, who was not so discreet and well-poised as most Moravians, the relations between the Danish and Moravian missionaries became less pleasant. The views and methods of the two were dissimilar, and to the present day there is not all that cordial intercourse between them which could be wished.

Scripture — one from the Old Testament, known as "The Daily Word;" the other from the New Testament, denominated "The Doctrinal Text." They are used at family worship, and furnish topics of remark at the public meeting. The little volume for the present year (1882) is the one hundred and fifty-second in the series. A suggestive connection has often been found by the Moravians between the word of the day and some notable occurrence on that day. The text for the day of the Brethren's embarkation, April 10, was (Hebrews xi: 1), "Faith is the substance of things hoped for — the evidence of things not seen."

> "We view Him, whom no eye can see,
> With faith's perspective steadfastly."

The whole undertaking was clearly one of faith. The story of their early hardships is truly moving, but courage and hope did not fail. "Let but the time for the heathen come," they wrote, "and the darkness in Greenland must give way to the light; the frigid zone itself must kindle into a flame, and the ice-cold hearts of the people must burn and melt."

But to what a people have they come! We refer to the inhabitants as they were when regular intercourse began to be resumed between Europe and "The Land of Desolation," early in the last century. The Eskimos are distinctively the Polar people, the most northern people

on our globe, occupying the Arctic shores from Greenland westward across the continent of North America, and, indeed, including the Namollos, extending four hundred miles along the Asiatic coast of Behring's Strait. No other aboriginal people are more widely scattered. Between the eastern and western extremes of these hyperboreans there is a reach of not less than five thousand miles. The Eskimos are a shore people, seldom found at a distance of more than twenty or thirty miles from the sea, or from streams near their outlet. Along the American Arctic shores they have a monopoly, save that, toward the western American frontier, two Indian tribes, the Kennayan and the Ugalenze, have advanced to the sea in order to enjoy fishing; while on the eastern frontier are a few European settlers, as the English at various posts of the Hudson's Bay Company in Labrador, and the Danes in Greenland. Of the latter, there are not now usually more than two or three hundred. That vast empire of frost belongs to this people, who have a preference for the inhospitable, and by choice are denizens of desolation. In spite of their wide dispersion and the small amount of present intercourse between remote sections, much uniformity exists. Their geographical situation secures to them comparative isolation, and they have the usual conceited ignorance of tribes and of individuals so situated. *Innuit*

— the plural of *innu*, man, "the people," the men *par excellence* — is the title which they arrogate to themselves.[1] Such assumption is by no means peculiar to Arctic regions. Every Arawak Indian in Guiana, where we have so recently been, names his tribe and language as those of the *Lokono*, which signifies "the people." The Caribs of that quarter apply to themselves the term *Caringa*, which also denotes "the people;" and, in the language of their neighbors the Accawoios, the word *Kapohu*, by which the different branches of their race are designated, means "the people."[2] This is a species of vanity common to many rude and less intelligent tribes; nor is the spirit which promotes it a monopoly of uncivilized countries or of modern times. The patriarch of Uz met with it: "No doubt ye are the people, and wisdom will die with you." An obscure tribe which Sir John Ross found, in latitude 77° on the upper coast of Greenland, supposed themselves to be the only inhabitants in the world. When Dr. Kane first visited the little tribe living on Smith's Sound, they were greatly surprised to find there were any other human beings outside of their abode.

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[1] The French name *Esquimau*, now beginning to be displaced by *Eskimo*, is a corruption of an Abanaki word, which signifies "those who eat raw flesh;" Charlevoix says, "*mangeur de viande crue.*"

[2] Brett's *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, 97, 98, 255.

The attachment of most people to their birth place is in the inverse ratio of its real attractiveness. What Bishop Spangenberg said of the Indians of North America holds true of these heathen Eskimos: "It is harder for a native to quit his country than for a king to leave his kingdom."

This fringe of sparsely distributed Eskimos along the Polar coast constitutes a race somewhat by itself ethnographically also. There is a sharp distinction between them and the inland tribes of our continent; and, when the two come in contact, mutual hostilities arise. The origin and relationships of the Eskimos are obscure. They seem, however, to form a connecting link between northern Mongolian Asiatics and the North-American Indians. Their language is extremely unlike European languages, save that it has a structural affinity with the Basque, and in a similar way resembles the Finn or Hungarian group. It is copious in grammatical forms, its particles and inflections more numerous than the Greek, but the agglutinative verb absorbs other parts of speech. The noun and verb are almost the only parts of speech, inflection supplying the place of prepositions. No prefixes are used; but suffixes are plentiful, and these particles, though destitute of meaning themselves, yet, being added to the main word, produce a modification of sense. The verb can include a pronoun both as subject and object,

and hence constitute even a complex sentence. Owing to this polysynthetic feature, the words sometimes come to have great length. Here is one as a specimen, taken without search from a Greenlander's letter: *Tipeitsugluartissinnaungilanga*. Here is another specimen: *Savigeksiniariartokasuaromaryotittogog*, which one word signifies, "He says you will also go away quickly in like manner, and buy a pretty knife." Of numerals there are only one to five, answering to the fingers on the hand. Ten is two hands; twice ten — referring to fingers and toes — is "the man finished." The number twenty-four, for instance, is four on the second man; eighty is "four men finished." There is a dual as well as singular and plural number. Considering the extent of their dispersion, and the absence of intercourse between different portions of the people, it is remarkable that, with only dialectic differences, their language should remain the same through such a vast stretch of territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

In person, Eskimos are not tall; neither are they dwarfish, as formerly reported, but stout, with large heads, small necks, hands and feet, and muscles not well developed. The face, flat, with high cheek-bones, is seldom washed, except in summer, and is ordinarily so smeared with soot and clotted train-oil as not to show that the real complexion is fair, or at any rate not

darker than that of the Portuguese. In personal and domestic habits, filth to the last degree characterizes them — their clothes dripping with grease and swarming with vermin; and the stifling atmosphere of their habitations, especially during the winter, is one which no foreigner with delicate olfactories could endure.[1] They eat most voraciously; ten pounds of flesh, besides other food, are sometimes consumed by one person in the course of a day. A man will lie on his back, and the wife feed him till he can no longer move. Cooking is not an indispensable preparation of their seal-flesh, the chief article of food. Like other savages, they alternate between fasting and famishing; unlike most other savages, they habitually consume raw flesh and fat. Finding a dead seal, they will sometimes rush upon it, though decay has so far advanced as to generate poison, of which they die. This animal, abundant and easily caught, supplies apparel for the person, covering for the boat, a bladder to float the harpoon, oil for the lamp which lights and warms the house, besides other useful articles, and hence is much more to the Eskimos than rice is to the Chinese, or the potato to the Irish. Men and women dress very much alike, always

[1] Two Quaker gentlemen, truthful and guarded as to their language, who visited Greenland in 1863, declared, "No poor man in England would have so poor a place for his pigs."

in skins, and their clothes are well made. The fires kindled are chiefly for cooking, but of this there is comparatively little. It remains a singular fact that, in the coldest climate inhabited by man, fire should be less used than anywhere else in the world, equatorial regions perhaps excepted.[1]

Like the Sandwich-Islanders originally, their salutation consisted in rubbing noses; and, like those islanders, they at first mistook European ships for huge birds. The kayak, a shuttle-shaped boat, eighteen feet long, twenty inches in the widest part, which requires for its construction about as many skins as a hunter can secure in one season — a characteristic affair, and without parallel among any other people in its structure and in the dexterity of its management — is occupied by one man only, and is used in hunting. The Eskimos employ the dog for draught — an advance toward civilization found among no other aboriginal American people. The nearest approach was by the Incas of Peru, who used the llamas for bearing burdens, though not for draught. Life is a struggle for mere existence. Accumulation of property or knowledge seems out of the question, everything being held in common, except what may be deemed indispensable to each; namely, clothing, a boat,

[1] Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific States*, I, 58.

and in summer a tent. Toward setting up a new family, nothing besides a tent and boat is absolutely required, and no other goods are hereditable.

The women eat apart from the men. Girls are of small account; boys may make hunters and support their parents. In disposition the Greenlanders are not fierce, but mild; they are envious, ungrateful and phlegmatic, as if their constitution had been touched with frost. A stolid indifference to the perils and sufferings of others may often be witnessed. People standing on the shore, and seeing a boat upset at sea, would look on with entire unconcern if the occupant was not a personal friend. They would make merry at his struggle with the waves, and, sooner than put off for a rescue, would allow him to perish before their eyes. Yet, in respect to mechanical ingenuity, more brain-power is shown by them than by most other savage nations who are more favorably situated. They possess a remarkably accurate knowledge of topography. Youths taken to Denmark learn trades as readily as the Danes. Unlike North-American Indians, they are not averse to labor — at least, much less averse than they. Eskimos have great power of endurance and a cool presence of mind. Certain games of agility and strength are practiced, ball-playing the favorite one. Singing and drum-playing, with dancing and declamation, may

be met with. Among the converts, there has occasionally appeared a man with considerable sharpness of intellect and power of reasoning. One of them, speculating on the doctrine of final causes in a manner not unworthy of Archdeacon Paley, said he often reflected that a kayak, with its tackle, does not grow itself into being, but requires to be shaped by skill and labor: a bird is made with greater skill than a kayak; still no man can make a bird. "I bethought me," said the Eskimo, "that he proceeded from his parents, and they from their parents. But there must have been some first parents; whence did they come? Certainly, I concluded, there must be a Being able to make them all, and all other things — a Being infinitely more mighty and knowing than the wisest man."[1] Civil government in any definite form — ruler, magistrates or courts of justice — hardly exists. The Eskimo language — happy circumstance! — has no words for scolding; people are expected to live in amity. Nor have they any profane words. They never make war upon one another, and avoid giving offence. Annoyance with offenders is indicated by silence, the aim being to bring shame upon them. Quarrels of all kinds are settled by a

[1] A heathen Eskimo, when asked, "Who made the world?" replied: "We don't know but it must have been some very rich man."

song-duel. Any one owing another a grudge composes a song about it, and sends him word when he will sing it against him. Cheering by the assembly, or dissent, indicates at once the judgment and the punishment; for the Greenlander dreads nothing so much as to be despised and laughed at by his countrymen. The people have a store of traditions and popular tales.

On the score of immorality and superstitions, the Eskimos are no worse than the average of barbarous nations. They believe in spirits, good and evil; and in the chief of spirits, Torngarsuck, who lives in a happy subterranean mansion. The chief female divinity is a spirit of evil, the mischievous Proserpine of the North. They conceive of the earth, with the sea supported by it, as resting on pillars and covering an under-world accessible by various entrances from the sea and from the mountain clefts. Above the earth is an upper world; and, after death, souls go up or down, the latter being much preferable because warm and amply supplied with food. Cold and famine reign in the upper world, where the inhabitants are playing at ball with a walrus's head, which occasions the aurora borealis.[1] Their ideas of the future are dim and fluctuating, especially as regards retribution; and yet they have a horror of annihilation. The chief character

[1] Rink's *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimos.*

among them is the Angekok — sorcerer, magician, counselor and physician. He corresponds to the Northern-Asiatic Shaman, or the Indian medicine-man, and prepares for his magic feats by prolonged solitude and fasting. They believe in ghosts, the reappearance of spirits after death; also in witchcraft, which is invoked for sinister purposes. The one supposed to be possessed of this disreputable power is regarded as able to leave the body, and approach the object of ill-intent, invisible to any one except the clairvoyant. This class of persons does not seem to differ greatly from what the Scotch imagine their "canny folk" to be. Such, in the main, are the Eskimos, who in very small numbers continue heathen today; such were the Eskimos of Greenland when the first missionaries approached them.

We picture to ourselves the Moravian Brethren simple-minded men, endeavoring to get access to this people — a people who did not desire their presence, and who seemed determined to have nothing to do with them, except in the way of begging or stealing. The language must be mastered, but these new-comers are unlearned. They have never seen a grammar. Egede loans them his remarks on the Greenland language, and bids his children assist them; but they must first learn the Danish to understand their instructors. The Eskimo language, with its copious vocabulary, its complex structure, so unlike

their own, seems an insolvable puzzle. Natives steal the manuscripts which had been written out with wearisome pains, and, instead of entering into conversation, ask if they are not going away soon. The roving habits of the people, in summer-time, increase the difficulty of access to them. But the Brethren plod on; and after more than a year of discouraging experience, they enter into a solemn covenant: "We will with diligence continue the study of the language in love, patience and hope."

After a destructive contagion which seemed almost to depopulate the country,[1] we might suppose these missionaries would see reasons for retiring. But no; they had been accustomed to meditate upon a verse engraved on copperplate at Herrnhut: "He calleth those things which be not, as though they were." The advice to abandon Greenland they met with this trusting reply: "God's ways are not man's ways; he that called us hither can still accomplish his aim by us." They firmly determine to wait for years, if only to save one soul. "All men," they wrote, "indeed look upon us as fools, and those more especially who have been longest in this country, and are best acquainted with the character of its

[1] Later, in 1754, there was a prevailing sickness, of which sixty converts died; and in 1782 another, which carried off 465 converts.

inhabitants. . . . But he, our Jesus, whose heart is filled with tenderness towards us and the poor heathen, knows all our ways; yea, he knew them before we were born. We are willing to venture on him our lives and all we have."

During the second year (1734) of this Moravian mission, two additional Brethren went out to establish a new station. One of them was Frederick Bönisch, who at the outset had offered himself with Matthew Stach;[1] the other was John Beck, whose grandfather, crippled by torture, had died young, and who, for conscience' sake, had himself been manacled and nearly starved within a Roman Catholic dungeon. They toil on under the greatest embarrassments, especially in acquiring the language. Occasionally a native calls upon them, and stops, it may be for a night, but always with some selfish purpose, to obtain shelter, food, needles, or something else. The Eskimos, thinking that they confer a great favor upon the missionaries, for which pay ought to be given, declare bluntly that, if the missionaries will not give them any more stock-fish, they will listen no longer. All manner of mockery and scorn is encountered. The natives mimic the reading, singing and praying; perform droll antics, accom-

[1] Matthew Stach afterward came to this country, and, dying in 1787, was buried at the Moravian settlement of Bethabara in North Carolina.

panied with drumming and hideous howling; jeer at their poverty and taunt them for their ignorance: "Fine fellows to be our teachers! We know very well that you yourselves are ignorant and must learn your lessons of others." They used to consider themselves superior to Europeans in good breeding; and, when they saw a modest stranger, their highest compliment was, "He begins to be a Greenlander." The heart of the savage is much like the heart of the civilized man. In every community, one may meet with petulant cavils or diabolical humor, such as the Moravians met in Greenland. "Show us the God whom you describe," said the natives, "then we will believe in him and serve him. . . . Our soul is healthy already, and nothing is wanting if we had but a sound body and enough to eat. You are another sort of folk than we. In your country, people may perhaps have diseased souls, and indeed we see proofs enough, in those who come here, that they are good for nothing; they may stand in need of a Saviour and of a physician for the soul."

At one time, the missionaries heard not a word from friends at Herrnhut for two years, and occasionally they were upon the point of starvation. Raw seaweed was devoured. The Eskimos would not sell them even seal's flesh — a delicacy compared with the tallow candles they were now and then compelled to eat. "Your

countrymen," they would often say, "must be worthless people, since they send you nothing, and you will be fools if you stay here." Still the persevering men formed resolutions like these: "We will never forget that in a confidence resting upon God our Saviour, in whom all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, we came hither. . . . We will not be anxious and say, 'What shall we eat, and what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?' but cast our care on Him who feeds the sparrows, and clothes the flowers of the field." At length, toward the close of 1735, a native with whom they had conversed came quite a distance, and, by what he brought, was the means of saving their lives. The next year, a gentleman in Holland, without solicitation, sent them supplies by a Dutch vessel.

The fifth year of toil and disappointment went by; but the year 1738 comes, and patient waiting receives an earnest of its reward. At the end of May the missionaries wrote: "Courage, dear brethren, and believe with us that our Lord will yet at last do glorious things in Greenland. Meanwhile we will not intermit our prayers and supplications for the salvation of these poor people, that the power of our Redeemer's blood may be apparent in their hearts." Fervent petitions were answered. John Beck was one day copying out, in a fair hand, a translation of

the Gospels, when a company of native Southlanders, passing by New Herrnhut, the Brethren's first station on Ball's River, call and wish to know what is in that book. The missionary reads to them. He tells them that the Son of God became man that he might redeem them by his sufferings and death; that they must believe if they would be saved. He enlarges on the subject, at the same time reading the account of our Saviour's agony in the garden. One of the listening savages, Kaiarnak, steps up to the table and says, with much earnestness: "How was that? Tell me that once more, for I too would fain be saved." The hour has come for the Holy Spirit to awaken something responsive in an Eskimo soul, the first well-defined instance in Polar regions.

Christ's sufferings and death, the innocent for the guilty, the God-man in mere man's place, is the central truth of the gospel, wherein lies the hiding of its power. That supreme expression of divine love moves when nothing else will; therein is a Heaven-appointed adaptation. Its effectiveness appeared on the day of Pentecost; and, from that day to the present, nothing has been found with a tithe of the same spiritual force. Arctic temperature neither promoted nor hindered access to the heart of Kaiarnak. A missionary, traversing the large business street of a city in Southern India, once spoke to a

native concerning the forgiveness of sin by Jesus Christ. "What is that you say?" exclaimed the Hindu. "Tell me that again; explain that to me; I want to hear that repeated."[1] This is not a matter of continental or insular residence. When Mr. Nott was reading the third chapter of John's gospel, to South Sea Islanders, at the sixteenth verse he was interrupted by one of them: "What words were those you read? What sounds were those I heard? Let me hear those words again!" The missionary read once more: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." The man rose and demanded, "Is that true? Can that be true? God love the world when the world not love him? God so love the world as to give his Son to die? Can that be true?" The verse was read yet again, and the wondering native burst into tears. Nor is this a question of race. An athletic Kafir, hearing of "wrath to come," was filled with anguish. The Moravian missionary spoke to him of our crucified Saviour. Trembling, he said: "Sir, I am old and stupid; tell me that again." And, when told again, tears rolled down his sable face. Has that event less power on the heart of woman? Tah-nek, of the Cherokee nation, was suffering extreme bodily pain. The missionary

[1] *London Missionary Magazine*, 1849, p. 58.

told her of Jesus, his love, his sufferings, his power to save.[1] Her dislike gave way to deep interest, and she said, "Tell it again." She forgot her own pains, and, after listening further, said, weeping: "Tell it again, for I too must be saved."[2] What can so rouse, so captivate, as this truth of the cross? For renovating men and women, there is no theology like the theology of redemption. It can penetrate alike the savage and the man of culture; in the palace or the hovel; in arctic or tropical regions. Let exploring expeditions keep up their search, if they will, for a new route to the opulent East; there is no "northwest passage" to Paradise.

Kaiarnak became an undoubted Christian convert. He labored with his companions, and they too became interested. Before the month was out, three large families of Southlanders pitched their tents near the missionaries, that they might hear the news of redemption. The next year (1739), it became increasingly evident that a way was preparing in the hearts of sundry Eskimos.

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[1] "There is over you the great burden of sin," said one of our Madura catechists to an old woman carrying a heavy load on her head; "you must go to Jesus, the bearer of sin-burdens. He will take away your sins, and you may enter heaven." "Tell me that again," said she, and with many tears went on her way, repeating: "I am a sinner; Jesus, take my sin-burden and love me!"

[2] Washburn's *Reminiscences of the Indians.*

Kaiarnak, receiving the name of Samuel, was baptized, as well as his wife, son and daughter. Soon after, a band of murderers from the north killed a brother-in-law of Samuel, and threatened his life too. Taking his family, he retreated to the south; but, wherever he went, spoke to his countrymen of the things of God. After a year, he returned, bringing his brother and family, for whose conversion he had been laboring. But his useful life was short. The year following (1741), he said to the friends weeping around him: "Don't be grieved about me; have you not often heard that believers, when they die, go to our Saviour, and partake of his eternal joy? You know that I am the first of you that was converted by our Saviour; and now it is his will that I should be the first to go to him."

Nothing in the spiritual world, any more than in the physical world, is wholly isolated. Our earth is a great magnet, and there is a diffusive electric element pervading nature. In regard to its channels and laws, we know but little. We have, however, learned that magnetic storms are connected with the Aurora Borealis; that there are occasions when all the magnets of the world are simultaneously affected. Religious movements are sometimes similarly coincident. Without the slightest intercommunication, revivals of religion have begun at the same time in different countries, or on land and on shipboard. June 2, 1738,

was the day when Kaiarnak put the question: "What is that? Tell me that again." The same year, missionaries on St. Thomas were imprisoned, yet the Word of God was not bound, for the negro congregation increased daily, and "the grace of God prevailed mightily among them." In the spring of that year, Whitefield, on his first voyage to this country, preaches the crucified Saviour to an irreligious company; bad books and cards are thrown overboard; an army officer and other passengers are converted. The same year, President Edwards's *Narrative of Surprising Conversions* was republished in Boston; and that, too, is the period when its author, in whom the work of sanctification was far advanced, had marvelous experiences. David Brainerd also was in the midst of soul-sorrows before coming to a discovery of free grace in Christ Jesus. The date now in mind, June 2, 1738, was less than a fortnight after Charles Wesley prayed (May 21) as never before, and found peace. Three days later, John Wesley, who for ten years had been groping and struggling, but has now, through the fidelity of Peter Böhler, a Moravian, been convinced of his "want of that faith whereby alone we are saved," is able for the first time to record his assurance of salvation. Two weeks more and he is on his way to Herrnhut, where he receives many suggestions and delightful impressions. "I would gladly," says he, "have spent my life here;

but, my Master calling me to labor in other parts of his vineyard, I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place." Was not the year 1738 a year of quick though unconscious sympathy between different parts of the Christian world? Was there not a real though inexplicable connection between that borealis flash in Greenland and the "cloven tongues of fire" which sat on many heads in different parts of Christendom?

From this time, Christianity as a living power was evidently gaining foothold at New Herrnhut, the first Moravian station in Greenland. If it be asked, What evidence has that gross and dark-minded people given of spiritual life? we reply — (1.) They experience a sense of sin — one good evidence, whether among savage or civilized peoples. "No," said Christiana, when a heathen female complimented her for not being so very bad, "no, that is not the reason; the Saviour has not chosen me because I am good, but because I am a wretched, poor, corrupted sinner. He receives none but poor sinners who cannot be satisfied without him." (2.) They learn where to look for help and hope. An old man, long full of animosity to the Word of God, comes begging to be told more about the Crucified One, and then exclaims, "O Jesus, help me, poor creature!" A native assistant said: "It is with us as when a thick mist covers the land, which hinders us

from seeing any object distinctly. But, when the fog disperses, we get sight of one corner of the land after another; and when the sun breaks forth we see everything clear and bright. Thus it is with our hearts. While we remain at a distance from our Saviour, we are dark and ignorant of ourselves; but the nearer the approaches we make to him, the more light we obtain in our hearts, and thus we rightly learn to discover all good in him and all evil in ourselves." Yet another pens the following prayer —and to precomposed prayers, so simple, so childlike, who will object?—"My dear Saviour, my name is Nathaniel. I will open my whole heart to thee in writing, in thy presence. I am deficient in everything. I find that I have not yet devoted my whole heart unto thee; and yet thou hast died for me, Jesus Christ. I wish I was so that thou couldst rejoice over me. Dear Saviour, I would willingly live so as to please thee."

When we remember the coarseness, the stupidity, the groveling habits, of this people, in their heathen state, is it not a notable result that their sensibilities have been educated through the power of divine truth and grace? From the outset of that awakening, a century and a half ago, apathy gave place to tenderness on the part of converts. When the Spirit of God had once touched their hearts, their eyes would often

moisten with tears. Sometimes this became very marked when the dying love of our Saviour was presented; indeed, it was not unusual for imbruted Greenlanders to weep under such presentation. The voice of prayer is heard, and in ejaculations like these: "My Saviour, I know that all things are possible to thee. Now, as thou hast bid us ask what we are in want of, therefore I pray thee hear me even at present." "Oh, that great Rescuer!" exclaims another. Such thoughts and aspirations, when once faith has been exercised, bring joyful assurance; and we are not surprised to hear Agnes testify (1752): "I am enabled to rejoice daily since I know that I have a Saviour, and that I have now nothing else to crave while I am on earth. Oh, had I not him nor felt him, I should be like a dead creature!"

A certain moral earnestness, early developed, like the tenderness of feeling shown, is all the more noteworthy in the midst of this race, constitutionally so stolid, so dull of apprehension as to the difference between right and wrong, and as to the imperative claims of religion. It certainly was unusual when youths, in spite of parental promises, entreaties or threats, clung to the missionaries, out of a desire to be taught the way of salvation; and when young women could show a chivalrous devotion to their religious teachers. It was a strange phenomenon

that a heathen Eskimo should sit up nearly the whole night to talk with a convert, who says he was now as "eager after hearing what is good, as the birds are after fishes which they swallow whole for eagerness." The first converts soon become Christian helpers,[1] and render efficient aid in obtaining access to heathen friends. Look at one of them; his name is Daniel. "Do not ye think, then"—thus the man appeals to his benighted countrymen—"that our Saviour endured inexpressible pain, when in his deadly anguish he sweat blood, was scourged all over his body, had his hands and feet pierced with nails, and his side pierced with a spear? But why do I say this to you? For this reason, to induce you once seriously to consider it, and, for our Saviour's great love, to yield up your hearts to him, with every bad thing, to the end that he may free you from them by his blood, and bestow upon you a happy life. I can tell you that great happiness is to be found in him."

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[1] The Brethren write: "In the mean time, Samuel frequently kept hours for prayer at home with the Greenlanders. Neither had Sarah [his wife] been inactive among her sex and the children. But, especially if there are any laid hold of by grace, she enters into frequent conversation with them about the state of their hearts; directs them with all their misery, according to her own experience, to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world; and, in short, seeks all occasions to gain something with the talents entrusted to her."

The Danish agents of trade, astonished at his course, call him "the man of God." Wherever he stops for a night, he takes off his cap, folds his hands, sings a few verses, or prays, and then talks to the heathen, unabashed at the presence of Europeans; and all this in a way so unaffected that his auditors weep, and then, late into the night, talk about his discourses. Benjamin, a native assistant, was also a peculiarly devoted man, who in his old age would visit out-dwellers, when he had to drag himself to the shore leaning on two sticks, and requiring help to get into his kayak.

Heathen Eskimos used to get rid of the disabled and the dependent by letting them perish, or in some other way even worse than that. Such barbarism has ceased, and even a "poor man's box" is now hardly needed. The natives, naturally covetous and much more ready to receive than to give, yet in the autumn make a contribution of train-oil for church purposes, and are in the habit of aiding their more indigent neighbors. When (1757) they learned how the Indian congregation at Gnadenhütten, in Pennsylvania, had been broken up, and those who escaped had lost their all, "I have a fine reindeer-skin which I will give," said one; another, "I have a pair of new reindeer-boots which I will send;" "And I," said a third, "will send them a seal, that they may have something to eat and to burn."

It has been noticed that, early in the course of this mission, children came under the power of Christianity. Their hearts were drawn out towards the missionaries, and they would bear such testimony concerning the Saviour as astonished the heathen. Occasionally the young were so wrought upon as to leave father and mother, brothers and sisters, in order to enjoy Christian instruction. They might sometimes be seen sitting together, singing Christian verses and talking about them. Is it easy to conceive of anything more beautiful than such children, amidst the dreary waste of Greenland, captivated by the story of Jesus, and lifting up their "Hosanna in the highest?" The service of sacred song has held an important place in the Moravian work among the Greenlanders, as elsewhere. Paul Gerhardt's famous hymn, "O Head, so full of bruises,"[1] became one of the early favorites; so did various lyric compositions of Zinzendorf and of his son, Christian Renatus. No one of these served a more important purpose than the hymn,

> "Jesus, thy blood and righteousness
> My beauty are, my glorious dress."

Not without interest, though with sadness, do we notice the outbreak of a delusion in 1853. It reveals a liability common to the rude and

[1] *O Haupt, voll Blut und Wunden.*

the more civilized — a liability of spiritual fanaticism, and it supplies an evidence of the unity of the human race. Matthew, a young man of excellent character, natural gifts and religious attainments, to whom his countrymen gave the name "Great Sage," after the death of his mother, awoke his father, brothers and sisters, one night, and continued in prayer with them till morning. He professed to have seen the Lord, and to have been assured by him that the end of the world had come. Some of the congregation at Friedrichsthal and others joined him. At their private meetings, there were distortions of the face, leaping, groaning and shoutings. Two women, the wives of helpers, began to marry and to divorce, to readmit those who had been excluded from the Lord's Supper, and to celebrate that ordinance; using the flesh of fowls for bread, and water for wine. The missionaries were at length threatened and insulted. Matthew finally announced that the world would be destroyed the next night. He and some of his followers went to a mountain to be taken up thence into heaven. The night was cold, and they were all barefooted. When morning dawned, their delusion was gone, and, with feet frost-bitten, they acknowledged their error.

A survey of Moravian labors in Greenland brings to view a great amount of privation, per-

severance and fidelity. Beyond a very frugal subsistence, the missionaries look for nothing in the way of salary, presents or perquisites; yet they have not regarded their field as one of cheerless exile. Even in those days, when (1744) they had to share half-decayed seal's flesh with the natives, they could write: "The Lord be praised, amidst all this he gives us cheerful hearts and joy in our Greenlanders, which is better than abundance — nay, than all the treasures of the earth." Great perils have been encountered from the first. At one time, when the Brethren were out in search of fuel, a contrary wind and driving storm kept them prisoners for eight days on a desert island, in piercing cold and without protection. At another time (1804), missionary Rudolph and wife, being wrecked on their return voyage, lay among the rocks of a barren island for eight days, and when rescued were at the point of death. Those of us who are accustomed to voyaging only in our own latitude, have a very inadequate idea of what it is to approach an Arctic coast, amidst strong winds and currents, fog and ice.

"In front of the Greenland glacier-line,
And close to its base, were we;
Through the misty pall we could see the wall
That beetled above the sea.
A fear like the fog crept over our hearts,
As we heard the hollow roar
Of the deep sea thrashing the cliffs of ice,
For leagues along the shore."

Still, amidst the numerous voyages to and from Greenland, while many ships have perished, only one missionary, Daniel Schneider (1742), has lost his life at sea. The preserving goodness of God has been wonderful. Not till thirty years after the establishment of the mission did the funeral of a Moravian brother, that of Frederick Bönisch, take place in Greenland. In spite of extreme privations and toil, the missionaries have, as a general thing, had excellent health, and have suffered little from acute diseases.

The whole number of Eskimos now in the country is estimated at from eight to ten thousand. The Moravian mission, confined to the southwestern coast, has six stations. New Herrnhut, the earliest and most northern, was established in 1733; next, Lichtenfels, eighty miles to the south, situated on an island in Fisher's Inlet, established in 1758. The place is environed with naked rocks; but the Brethren, applying the promise, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come," gave to it the name of Lichtenfels, "Rock of Light." More than three hundred miles still further to the south lies Lichtenau, "Meadow of Light," begun in 1774; and forty miles farther on, in the same direction, Friedrichsthal, founded in 1824. The two more recent stations, Umanak and Igdlorpait, date respectively from 1861 and 1864.

At the present time (1881), the corps of mis-

sionaries numbers nineteen, and the native membership 1,545. In 1801, the last Greenlander on the field belonging properly to the Moravians received baptism; but later (1829–30), there came small companies of heathen Eskimos from the eastern or rather southeastern coast, a region inaccessible to Europeans, and planted themselves chiefly in the neighborhood of Friedrichsthal, thus coming within reach of the missionaries. A few of those on the eastern coast at the present time find their way annually around Cape Farewell, to barter such products as they have with Danish merchants, and are then approached by Christian teachers.

In spite of embarrassments the most formidable, Greenlanders as a body have risen from the condition of wild, filthy savages to that of a docile and civilized people. Rude, indeed, they still remain, mere children; but they are no longer brutish, nor are they idolaters. The barbarities of former times have ceased; old superstitions have nearly disappeared; comparative kindness, order and decorum reign. A high degree of refinement cannot be expected, and might not be desirable; but it is a noble achievement of the United Brethren to have approached that continent of ice; to have domiciled with a tribe so stupid, so beastly in their habits, over whose heads the Great Bear circles the year round; to have given them God's Word and

sacred hymns; and, along with Danish co-laborers, gradually to have drawn them into the green pastures of a rational and religious life.

Dr. Kane, to his great delight, found a flower at the foot of Humboldt Glacier. The fairest plant anywhere to be seen on earth was transplanted to the rugged shores of southern Greenland by Moravian faith, and nurtured by Moravian prayers and toils. The wilderness and the solitary place have been made glad for them; and never does William Cowper sing more beautifully than when he kindles at the Christian heroism of these humble Germans:

> "Fired with a zeal peculiar, they defy
> The rage and rigor of a Polar sky,
> And plant successfully sweet Sharon's rose
> On icy plains and in eternal snows."

LECTURE VI.

MISSION TO LABRADOR.

MISSION TO LABRADOR.

LABRADOR — the country, people and mission — is a twin sister of Greenland. Lying between the Atlantic Ocean and Hudson's Bay, it is a great and terrible wilderness, a triangular peninsula, with an area twice as large as the British Isles, and five times as large as the kingdom of Prussia. Geologically, it is said to be the oldest land now above the surface of the ocean. The interior has been but partially explored, and appears to be a region of hills and mountain ridges, and of plateaus strewn with granite bowlders. Lakes and swamps abound. The name, *Terra Labrador*, "Cultivable Land" — the only existing trace of Portuguese presence on the Continent of North America — suggests the same illusion or irony as led Eric to call the desolate region he had discovered *Greenland*, and Captain Cook to call one savage group inhabited by cannibals the *Friendly Islands*.[1] Plains of moss, and, toward the south, forests

[1] French explorers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence seem to have labored under a similar delusion when they gave the names *Petit Bras d'Or* and *Grand Bras d'Or*, for no quarter of the globe is more innocent of gold than that.

of stunted pines and birches, are found, but no fruit-trees. Even in more favored portions, agriculture is rendered impracticable by snow and ice. Here, however, is the beautiful labradorite, a feldspar remarkable for its iridescent tints, which was discovered by the Moravian Brethren.

This sterile solitude, belonging politically to Newfoundland, differs less than we might expect from the Arctic regions. Cape Chudleigh, the extreme northeastern point, reaches only to the latitude of Cape Farewell; yet, partly owing to geographical position as related to winds and ocean currents, Upper Labrador is colder and more bleak than Lower Greenland. At Hopedale, the most southern Moravian station, seventy degrees below the freezing point of Fahrenheit have been registered. Sometimes snow falls to a depth of fifteen feet, houses being completely buried. Hoar-frost settles in greatest profusion and in the most fantastic forms; rectified spirits thicken like oil. As the cold season advances, and the frost penetrates deeper and deeper, rocks split with loud explosive sounds. During the short season of summer heat, mosquitoes, the pest of man and beast, swarm fearfully, and are more dreaded than the black bears.

The coast-line, extending toward a thousand miles, indented with bays like the western coast of Greenland, is one long, broken precipice of

jagged rocks, against which sullen waves from the Atlantic have dashed for ages. That stern rampart is flanked by numberless islands, among which the eider-duck is very abundant. Almost the only visitors ever seen in these waters are icebergs, those contributions of Greenland rivers — rivers not fluid, but solid, and ceaseless in their movement into the fiords, whence in huge fragments they reach the open sea. Floating down from Polar regions, they seem now a pyramid, now a coliseum, at one time a mosque, at another a cathedral, majestic, crystalline and with a wonderful play of light and shade — some of them nearly white, others blue as sapphires, others green as emeralds.

In the interior live a few Indians, the Nascopies, called by the French *Montagnais* (mountaineers) — with French features; somewhat like gypsies in their habits, Roman Catholic in their belief; who resort once a year to the shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence for the purpose of barter, and for certain rites of their religion. But the Eskimos are found, as in Greenland, chiefly by the coast; and, as before stated, they also skirt the shore of the Polar Ocean across the continent. Indeed, along with their supposed congeners, the circumarctic inhabitants on the Asiatic side of that ocean, they are the only race that, by any approach to continuity, encircle the globe. Between them and the Indians

of the interior, there existed as wide a gulf in feeling as in race — a bitter feud, which proved very destructive to the Eskimos till, chiefly through the efforts of Moravian missionaries, it was brought to a close. Before Christian labor was begun among them, the Eskimos were accounted peculiarly treacherous and superstitious. As elsewhere, they were ruled by sorcerers, called Angekoks. Their whole character seemed in keeping with the aspect of the country, grim and repulsive. While the climate of Labrador is more inclement than that of Lower Greenland, the people were, if possible, more degraded. Their dwellings and habits no less filthy, their features, color, dress, amulets and superstitions the same, they have less simplicity, but more pride and arrogance, than their neighbors on the opposite side of Davis Strait. The youth who has shot a few ptarmigans is a great man; he becomes vastly supercilious and boastful. Nowhere else on the surface of our globe is a larger share of time and strength required to secure the bare means of livelihood. Ground that is frozen nine or more months of the year can yield no staple for food, nor are tame animals reared for that purpose. The dogs, wolf-like in shape, never bark, but only howl. They are exceedingly quarrelsome, yet will travel two days without food. Nine dogs have been known to draw a weight of sixteen

hundred pounds the distance of a mile in ten minutes. When one of them receives a lash, he bites his neighbor, and so the bite goes round — a habit somewhat human.

Now, though a Christian mission should be established among this people, the necessities of their occupation will keep them away from the stations, and their children away from school for months every year. Is there any hope for a people thus situated and so debased? Will not Holy Scripture and the Holy Spirit find in that sunken race material beyond the power of renovation? Does not such a frightful region lie outside the scope of Christ's command, "Go teach all nations"?

Heaven would not be complete without converted Eskimos from Labrador. True, since the discovery of their land, they had remained for nearly three centuries wholly neglected. And, so far as known, they were despised by European visitors; were deemed scarcely human, a refuse race, as little to be cared for as their cheerless coast was to be visited. For one hundred years, the Hudson's Bay Company, though composed of men nominally Christians, had held possession, without lifting a finger toward evangelizing natives on the shores of the Atlantic, or at their posts on interior waters. The extraordinary charter granted by Charles II of England (1669) to that company, with such sweeping privileges,

conferring "on them exclusively all the lands in Hudson's Bay, together with all the trade thereof, and all others which they should acquire," with a subordinate sovereignty by an absolute proprietorship and commercial supremacy, remained in force till 1863. They employ twelve hundred men, and have one hundred and fifty settlements — a long chain of forts and factories extending from the coast of Labrador to the Pacific, and from the northern boundary of Canada to the Arctic Ocean. But it was reserved for another nationality, and for men of other training, first to put forth Christian effort in behalf of the Eskimo. The severe school of Greenland furnished pioneers.

The earliest attempt in this line was made by John Christian Ehrhardt, a Moravian pilot, from Holland. When visiting St. Thomas, in the West Indies, as a sailor, he had been converted (1741) through the instrumentality of Frederick Martin, the excellent Moravian missionary laboring there. Afterwards he went out on northern voyages; visited New Herrnhut, in Greenland; and had a strong desire awakened to carry the gospel to tribes of whom he heard, further south. Writing to Bishop von Watteville (1750), he says: "I have also an amazing affection for those northern countries, for Indians and other barbarians; and it would be the source of the greatest joy if the Saviour would discover

to me that he has chosen me, and would make me fit, for this service. . . . Whoever has seen our cause in Greenland and what the Saviour has done to the poor heathen there, surely his heart and his eyes must overflow with tears of joy, if he possess any feeling of interest in the happiness of others; they are, indeed, sparkling rubies in the golden girdle of our Saviour." Von Watteville encouraged the Arctic seaman who carried so warm a heart, but the Hudson's Bay Company refused permission to have the gospel preached to savages in the neighborhood of their factories. English merchants, however, sent a vessel for trade to Labrador, and made Ehrhardt supercargo. With him was associated a party of four Moravian missionaries, who volunteered to be left on the coast. The *Hope* — for the vessel bore the same auspicious name as did that which carried Egede to Greenland — touched at a point on the southeastern coast in July, 1752. The natives were gratified to find that Ehrhardt understood their language, which differs from that of Greenland Eskimos only as a dialect, the difference being less than between High and Low German. The Brethren set up the house which they had taken out from England, and, with characteristic buoyancy of anticipation, named the place Hoffenthal (*Hopedale*). Ehrhardt, after receiving their farewell letters for Europe, took prayerful leave, and sailed up the

coast to complete a cargo; but, within less than two weeks from his departure, the Brethren were surprised to see the *Hope* reënter their harbor. Ehrhardt, accompanied by the captain and five sailors, had landed with merchandise on the coast to the north, but did not return to his ship. They were probably murdered. There was no second boat for the rest of the crew to go in search of their comrades; and, after waiting a while in distressing anxiety, they sailed back to Hoffenthal. The mate, now short of hands, implored the missionaries to assist in navigating the ship to England; and thus closed the first endeavor to Christianize Labrador, with a melancholy resemblance to the fate of the heroic Captain Gardiner, who made the earliest attempt to Christianize Antarctic regions.

The second attempt was made by Jens Haven, of Danish birth, a Moravian carpenter, and who, instead of being deterred, was drawn toward that land of savages by the alarming fate of Ehrhardt. Any man loyal to his country, or loyal to the kingdom of Christ, will be stimulated by the martyrdom of others. We shall presently have occasion to notice the untimely loss of two members of this Labrador mission. Did their sad end deter others from the service? Listen to a statement of Samuel Liebisch, one of their successors: "Toward the end of the year 1774," he says, "I was deeply affected by

the painful intelligence of the shipwreck and death of the Brethren Brasen and Lehman, off the coast of Labrador. This catastrophe suggested the serious question to my mind, whether I should be willing to engage in my Saviour's service even at the peril of my life, and to take Brother Brasen's place if it were required of me. I was enabled to answer this heart-searching question in the affirmative, with full confidence and assurance of faith."[1] So has it often been. When Colman falls in Burmah, the zeal of Boardman and his wife is fired. The early death of Harriet Newell only rouses Harriet Winslow to follow her. Lyman and Munson perish by the hands of Battas, but Lowry is moved to offer himself for work in the East. When, in turn, he dies by the hands of pirates, many a heart is thrilled with a feeling the opposite of dread.

For six years, Jens Haven had devoted his leisure to the study of those northern coasts of America; he had longed and prayed that he might be sent to Labrador. Following Zinzendorf's advice, he went first to Greenland, that he might learn the language, and labored for several years at Lichtenfels. Finally, his original design was fulfilled. With letters of introduction to Sir Hugh Palisser, Governor of New-

[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XIX, 212.

foundland, he sailed for that island; was received with much kindness, and then, taking a French vessel, proceeded to Labrador (1764). On the first landing of Haven, the natives desired him to accompany them to an island half an hour distant. Considering their character and what had been the fate of Ehrhardt, this naturally seemed a most hazardous venture. He says, however: "I confidently turned to the Lord in prayer, and thought within myself, 'I will go with them in thy name. If they kill me, my work on earth will be done, and I shall be with thee; but, if they spare my life, I shall firmly believe it to be thy will that they should hear and embrace the gospel.' I accordingly went; and, as soon as we arrived there, all set up a shout, 'Our friend is come!'" The next year, Haven revisits the same coast in company with two other Moravian Brethren, as well as Drachart, a Danish missionary, formerly in Greenland, now a Moravian. Hindrances, however, prevent the actual establishment of a mission till later. The Moravians had presented a petition to the Privy Council of England, and George III granted "one hundred acres of land on the coast of Labrador, wherever they pleased to locate themselves, for the purpose of evangelizing the heathen inhabitants." The Brethren in London fitted out a vessel, and sent Haven, Drachart and others to the inhospitable region.

A clan unlike some of their race was found, which welcomed the expedition (1770). This reception was due in part to Mikak, a female who had been captured in a battle between European colonists and the Eskimos (1768), had been taken to England, in some measure educated, and now, with her husband, was prepared to conciliate her countrymen to the newcomers. She presented herself in a white garment, the gift of the Princess of Wales, decked with gold stars and lace, and in front a gold medallion containing a likeness of the King of England. During her exile in Great Britain, she had made representations in regard to the degraded condition of her countrymen, and had entreated Haven that he would return from England to Labrador with a view to do them good. That had influence originally in helping on the enterprise, as did the statements of the negro Anthony relative to slaves in the West Indies, before Moravian missionaries set out for St. Thomas.

The next year, arrangements were made for establishing a permanent mission. Fifteen persons composed the company, Haven and Drachart being among them. Three of the Brethren were married; eight of the party were laymen. To the place selected, a little above latitude 56° and about eighty miles north of Hopedale, they gave the name of Nain. Numbers of the natives

settled temporarily near the spot, and attended upon preaching in the summer months, but, when winter came, would withdraw to different parts of the coast. A little insight into the experiences of the Brethren may be gathered from a leaf of Haven's journal of a visit to one of the native families: "We were forced to creep on all fours through a low passage, several fathoms long, to get into the house; and were glad if we escaped being bitten by the hungry dogs, which take refuge there in cold weather, and which, as they lie in the dark, are often trodden upon by the visitor, who, if he escapes from this misfortune, is compelled to undergo the more disgusting salutation of being licked in the face by these animals, and of crawling through the filth in which they mingle. Yet this house, notwithstanding our senses of seeing and smelling were most wofully offended in such frightful weather, was of equal welcome to us as the greatest palace." Jens Haven and his associates, plain men, were taught of God, and they formed a Christian estimate of their degraded fellow-men.

Previous endeavors of the Moravians to begin missionary work had proved, as we have seen, only exploring visits. This was the earliest successful establishment upon the rugged coast. An Order in Council had been issued (1774), giving to the Brethren a second tract of land,

one hundred thousand acres in extent, for missionary purposes, which tract, with the full approval of the natives, was appropriated in the name of the King, and a second station commenced on an island in the Bay of Okak, one hundred and fifty miles to the north of Nain (1776); at which latter place the first Eskimo convert in Labrador received baptism the same year. The indefatigable Haven, one among the pioneers of that movement also, declared that the first months at Okak were the happiest of his life; for he had opportunity to preach Christ crucified, in some instances, four or five times a day, and to persons, for the most part, not reluctant to hear him. About the same distance to the south of Nain was opened (1782) the third station, three hundred miles north from the Straits of Belisle, near the spot where the first unsuccessful attempt had been made; and to it was given the original name, Hoffenthal. Owing to more intercourse with unprincipled European traders, the natives in that quarter were found less susceptible to Christianizing influences than even those farther north. Here, too, the devoted Jens Haven spent two years in hard toil; but infirmities came upon him, and he was obliged to return to Europe (1784). The last six years of his life he was totally blind, but never ceased to be resigned and cheerful. In his seventy-second year (1796), he went to

his everlasting rest, leaving this memorandum on a slip of paper, which was found: "I wish the following to be added to the narrative of my life: 'On such a day, Jens Haven, a poor sinner, who in his own judgment deserves condemnation, fell happily asleep, relying on the death and merits of Christ.'"

The year eighteen hundred and thirty witnessed the establishment of a fourth station, called Hebron, one hundred miles to the north of Okak, the materials for the mission buildings being taken out as usual from England. Still another enterprise of the same kind was started in 1865, the locality lying between Nain and Hoffenthal, and was called Zoar. The sixth and last station was founded at Ramah, sixty miles above Hebron, on the coast of Nullatartok Bay. Funds for this purpose were raised in England, and expressly with a view to the establishment of a "Jubilee Station," in the year 1871, the centennial of the first permanent missionary foothold on the coast of Labrador.

In carrying on this mission, which has now (1881) a history of a hundred and ten years, the Moravian Brethren have met with trials and discouragements peculiarly disheartening — the condition, character and habits of the natives, half the population of a settlement being absent for months; the rigors of a climate which seems to protest vehemently against the presence of

man; epidemics, such as influenza, whooping-cough, dysentery, erysipelas, occasionally carrying off one fifth or more of the Eskimos at a settlement, and calling for assiduous attention from missionaries. At other times, a distemper has swept away the beasts of burden — there is but one species, the dog — thus leaving the people greatly crippled in their search for means of subsistence. Seasons of famine have occurred. Like most others in so rude a state, the Eskimo is exceedingly improvident, living from hand to mouth, selling out all his stores to traders, eating enormously when there is plenty, but manifesting a childish unconcern about exigencies which are liable to come at any time. The winter of 1836–7, for instance, was characterized by extreme severity and destitution, when famished natives were compelled to eat the skin coverings of their tents, to feed on boots and the like. At another period of distress (1851), the missionaries distributed seventy thousand dried fish among the destitute of Okak alone; and, at that station, out of three hundred dogs only twenty survived. During another similar season (1855–6), several converts, being remote from any settlement, died of starvation. The introduction of ardent spirits, by outside fishermen and traders, has exerted a demoralizing influence; and the same is true, in general, as respects their intercourse with foreigners, most

of whom have had no regard to the highest welfare of this inferior and untutored race. Not less than a thousand vessels are engaged in the Labrador fisheries; other fleets are devoted to the pursuit of seals, which are caught chiefly by Newfoundlanders, to the annual value of a million and a half of dollars. Traders endeavor to detach the Eskimos from the missionaries' influence, in order to use them more entirely in the interest of a traffic which is often none too scrupulous. Gambling is one of the arts which civilized men have taught the natives.

Upon first acquaintance, the Eskimos usually treated Europeans in an utterly contemptuous manner, calling them dogs and barbarians. Their gross, self-righteous stolidity was often a most discouraging feature; as, when Drachart spoke of the depravity of mankind, they would admit that it might be true in regard to foreigners, but entirely inapplicable to themselves. When he told them how some of the Greenlanders had been washed in the Saviour's blood, their reply was: "They must have been extremely wicked to be in need of such a process." As he was discoursing on one occasion about Christ's great love in dying for us, an Eskimo remarked: "There is nothing wonderful in God's loving me, for I never killed a European!" They could see no practical benefit from this new religion, which did not promise them any help in seal-

fishing, or in building their kayaks. "We neither hear nor understand what you say," was the reply of a heathen at Hebron (1848); "only give us an old pipe and some tobacco; it is all we want." That also they learned from foreigners, bearing the name of Christians.[1]

Peculiar trials incident to a region so far north are often encountered. In one instance, several Christian Eskimos were fishing on a mass of ice, which suddenly broke loose from the shore and moved out to sea. They had already taken eight seals, which served them as food, though uncooked. Calling to mind Paul's shipwreck and deliverance, they appear to have had an unwavering trust in the Saviour's loving-kindness and his gracious might; and on the thirteenth day the floating mass was driven coastwise near enough to allow of their escape. Missionaries venturing once to the distance of forty miles, for a pastoral visit, in the month of February, though wrapped in furs, nearly perished; their eyelids froze together so that they were obliged

[1] The claim that tobacco acts as a prophylactic was never so vividly illustrated as in the case of an Eskimo, who was walking alone on an island in the neighborhood of Nain, when he saw six wolves advancing rapidly toward him. He had no weapon of defense except his pipe, which he began to smoke most vigorously. Sparks fell from the bowl, and a cloud of smoke enveloped his person. The judicious wolves turned and ran in the opposite direction. *Periodical Accounts*, XXIX, 481.

to keep pulling them open, their hands freezing the meantime and swelling like bladders. Three years after the settlement at Nain was begun (1774), a voyage of exploration to the north was undertaken with reference to establishing another station; but the missionaries suffered a fearful shipwreck, and two of them, Brasen and Lehman, were drowned. Samuel Liebisch and another missionary named Turner, having official occasion to visit Okak (1782), one hundred and fifty miles from Nain, started on the frozen sea, with three native men, one woman and a child. After a while, a ground-swell began; grating and roaring were heard; and fissures appeared in the undulating ice. As the sun declined and darkness came on, a storm arose; snow was driven in whirlwinds; and, for leagues around, noises were heard like the report of a cannon, as the ice, many feet in thickness, began to burst. Their only hope now was in rapidly escaping to the shore; but, when their sledges approached the land, the ice, already detached from the rocks, was forced up and down, grinding against precipices, and crumbling in pieces. Only with greatest difficulty could the frightened dogs, which drew the sledges, be urged to the shore at the right moment when the general mass was nearest on a level with the coast. Scarcely had they reached the land, when the vast frozen platform broke up, far as the eye could reach, and the

surface of the sea became one wild area of tumultuous waves and colliding ice-fields, with a roar like batteries of heavy ordnance. Extreme privation and suffering followed.[1]

What, now, are some of the results of Moravian labor in Labrador? From missionaries, a majority of whom are not above the grade of average mechanics, no great achievement can be looked for in the line of literature. With great labor, portions of Scripture and other religious matter have been translated into the native tongue, and printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In 1809, a small hymn-book and a few tracts were ready, which the converts, both in Greenland and Labrador, received with delight. One year later, a *Harmony of the Gospels* was in readiness. Eighteen hundred and twenty-one, the first jubilee of the mission, was signalized by the distribution of the entire New Testament in the vernacular. At once the poor people, without suggestion from any one, began to collect what they could, and forwarded the same to England as a thank-offering to the society which had bestowed so invaluable a treasure upon them. Gold and silver had they none, but such as they had they gave — one the fur

[1] There have been other forms of peril besides those mentioned above. An evil-minded Eskimo, who had been called to account for stealing, fired twice at Missionary Elsner, each time with two balls, yet the good man escaped uninjured.

of a cross-fox, and one a white-fox skin; some a whole seal, some a half, some smaller pieces. They said: "We are indeed poor, but yet might now and then bring some blubber, as a contribution, that others, who are as ignorant as we were formerly, may receive the same gospel which has been so sweet to our souls, and thereby be taught to find the way to Jesus and believe on him." When the mission's second jubilee (1871) came round, printed portions of the Old Testament were distributed, and were received with deep gratitude.

In regard to the work of conversion among Labrador Eskimos, it is to be noticed that the first instance occurred in England. This was of the youth Karpik, who had been carried to that country (1769) by Sir Hugh Palisser, and placed at the Moravian settlement of Fulneck, in Yorkshire. He came under the influence of Haven and Drachart, embraced Christianity, received baptism, and almost immediately expired. This occurred prior to the founding of the mission. He was the Henry Obookiah of Labrador — that Sandwich-Islander also having died, it will be recollected, a year before the American Board established a mission in Hawaii. At the outset, mistakes were made, and natives were sometimes admitted to the sacraments without being truly converted; yet there were pleasing instances of undoubted piety. One was Benjamin, who, in his

last sickness (1803), would join with great fervor in such hymns as that of Zinzendorf,

"The Saviour's blood and righteousness,"

and was all the while repeating appropriate texts of Scripture: "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners;" "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Till his last breath, he continued to speak of the Saviour's love; and, through all his sickness, the Eskimos who visited him were deeply affected by his Christian confidence and joy.

Another was Frederick, a helper at Okak, who in his last illness could say to Missionary Barsoe: "I am a pilgrim and a stranger here below. As to the body, I am still on earth; but as to the spirit, I am already in heaven. I pray daily to our Saviour that he would take me to himself." Such manifestations, however, are not peculiar to the last sickness. Mention might be made of a man at the same station, who, striving earnestly to direct his course in accordance with God's Word, said: "I often think on rising in the morning, About this time my Saviour was for my sins crowned with thorns, nocked and scourged; about noon I think, Now my Saviour was condemned to death; and in the afternoon I remember his crucifixion and death, and the full redemption he wrought for

me; and in these thoughts the time passes very quickly."[1]

Speaking of one Sigsigak, the missionaries say: "From his infancy, he had wallowed in every kind of abomination, and was guilty of the most atrocious deeds. He had thus spent his life, and grown gray, in the service of Satan. But now how is he changed by the power of Jesus' blood, which cleanseth from all sin! The ferocious and terrific countenance of this late monster of iniquity, which made one tremble at his appearance, is converted into a mild, gentle aspect; the savage bear has become a gentle lamb; and the slave and instrument of the Devil, a humble follower of the Good Shepherd, and a true child of God." After making profession of faith, in a fit of sudden anger he struck his wife; but of his own accord he made confession, adding: "While I was in this passion, I felt a strong reproof in my heart, and it seemed to me as if I had struck Jesus himself in the face. I was powerfully convinced of the deep depravity of my soul, and that on account of my sins Jesus had been tormented and slain; yea, that even I by my sins have slain him." The private record made by the pious Robert Adam, of Wintringham, comes to mind: "It was not only Pontius Pilate and the Jews, but my sins, I myself, that

[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXVI, 173.

condemned Christ, that scourged him, and spit upon him, that drove the nails into his hands and feet, and pierced his side, and forced him to cry out, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'"[1] — a sentiment which is the burden of a hymn by Bonar:

> "'T was I that shed the sacred blood;
> I nailed him to the tree;
> I crucified the Christ of God,
> I joined the mockery."

How is it with Eskimo women? They, too, have shown the transforming power of God's grace. One was a widow, named Esther, who died 1792. On a visit at Nain, in childhood, she heard of Jesus, and never lost the impression then made. She would retire to a secluded spot on the hill near her birthplace, and pour out her heart in prayer to the Friend in heaven whose name she had learned. After many sufferings and trials, she found at Okak full rest to the soul, and was the first Eskimo who kept her profession unblemished to the end. Another, called Ajainak, being asked if she did not wish to become a candidate for baptism, replied: "I do sometimes think about it, but more about my being so very great a sinner; and I cry with tears to Jesus that he would forgive me my sins, and grant me to know him as my Saviour. I feel I

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[1] *Private Thoughts*, p. 13.

am unholy and unclean, and cannot thus belong to Jesus; what would it, therefore, avail if I were a candidate for baptism and did not know him, and that he has forgiven my sins? . . . God is my Father," she would often say; "wherever I am, he is with me, and I can tell him all my wants." Another: "I am as one walking upon a smooth sheet of ice, and obliged with every step to guard against falling. He must uphold me, and my heart is lifted up in prayer to Him." The day following a sacramental service, at which deep emotion was manifested, certain communicants came to the missionary, one of whom, Sarah, brought all the metal rings with which she had adorned her fingers, and wished to part with them. When asked the reason, she answered: "I will have nothing now to please me but only Jesus." Lydia, Louisa, and some others followed with their ornaments, and entirely of their own accord, the missionaries having offered no criticism upon their dress. And at Hopedale (1861) is the widow Sophia, seventy years old, who has lost the use of her feet; she crawls on hands and knees, yet is always cheerful, rejoicing in the Lord, and, though so infirm, cares faithfully for another widow, who is more helpless than herself.[1]

"Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees

[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXIV, 265.

believed on him?" The very first instance of baptism in Labrador was that of an Angekok, Kingsmenguse (1776). Other sorcerers were also brought in. One such noted case (1848), was that of an old man, named Parksaut, the very Elymas of a neighborhood given up to all manner of dark deeds, and his hands stained with the blood of many a murder. To the surprise of all, he made his appearance at Hebron — followed afterwards by others to the number of eighty or more — avowed his purpose of turning to the Lord; and the result justified his profession.

The Eskimos, reserved, phlegmatic and with blunted sensibilities, are perhaps the last people among whom we should look for a religious revival; yet this Labrador mission has enjoyed seasons of spiritual quickening. One of the earliest and most clearly defined was at Hoffenthal, where declension had been previously more marked than in the other settlements, where, indeed, affairs had become so discouraging that, even thirty-three years after the commencement of labor there, thoughts of abandoning the station were entertained. The similar season of gracious visitation among the Indians at Crosweeksung, during the labors of David Brainerd, was equally unlooked for.[1] As Kohlmeister was

[1] *Edwards*, X, 235.

preaching (1804) from the words, "The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost," truth touched the heart of a wretched creature so degraded, so sunk in vice, as to be shunned by her own countrywomen. "I am the very worst of all," she exclaimed; "but, if He came to seek the lost, even I can be saved." She fled earnestly to the Saviour, became a new creature in Christ Jesus, and could testify: "I felt a singular joy and delight in my soul, and could not help weeping so much that I forgot myself, and remained sitting in church. My heart has ever since been fixed upon our Saviour alone, and I often weep for him. Now I know truly what you mean by feeling our Saviour near and precious to the soul, and experiencing his great love to sinners; and that it is not enough to be baptized, and to enjoy other privileges in the congregation, but that every one ought to be able to say for himself, 'My Saviour is mine; he died for my sins; he has also taken away my sins, and received me even as his child.'" In every hut, there might be heard the voice of prayer and praise; places of worship were thronged; and nearly all the adults began to seek after God. Some of the children, too, were awakened; they met and sang hymns, during which they often burst into loud weeping.

In the midst of this revival, two young men from Nain arrived at Hoffenthal. One of them

came to return his wife to her mother, in order to marry another more inclined to join him in heathen abominations. Christian friends gathered around him; his own mother exclaiming, "O my Lord Jesus, behold this my child! I now give him up to thee. Oh, accept of him and suffer him not to be lost forever!" He was convicted of sin; his heart was changed; he took back his repudiated wife; and the young man who accompanied him also became a Christian. Missionaries afterwards wrote concerning this station: "The people have now, both in the morning and at evening, prayer and singing in all the families; and, both then and on other occasions, they edify each other in a manner that moves us to tears of gratitude. In short, there is at present a small congregation of believing Eskimos at Hopedale, blooming like a beautiful rose; and, as all their happiness is founded upon the enjoyment of the merits of Christ, and in contemplating him as their crucified Redeemer, our joy is no more mixed with the fear and anxiety we felt formerly; but we rejoice in truth over a genuine work of God." The spiritual movement, begun at Hoffenthal, extended to Nain and to Okak (1805). That persons constitutionally so shy and reticent as the Eskimos should become ready to confess their sins, and to speak of the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, could not fail to surprise their coun-

trymen and to delight the missionaries. This season marked a new era in the history of the mission; the happy influences continued to be felt sensibly for years. Nor is it unworthy of notice that this blessed visitation followed, in point of time, immediately upon that season of refreshing from on high (1798–1803), during which not less than one hundred and fifty churches in New England enjoyed revivals.

At the present time (1881), the number of stations, six, is the same as in Greenland, though the missionary agents are twice as numerous — thirty-nine against nineteen. On the other hand, the members are fewer; there being four hundred and ninety, while there are one thousand three hundred and two persons in charge. Along the coast, and a little in the interior, there are altogether about fifteen hundred Eskimos now under the influence of that mission. To the north of Hebron, there still remain a few heathen Eskimos, some of whom have been reported as being fierce and bloodthirsty. It was said that a man living at Ungava Bay murdered and devoured seven human beings in one year (1863). To the south of Hoffenthal are a few more, the women having chiefly intermarried with fishermen of various nationalities; but the people as a body have become Christian. At Zoar, the last heathen of that neighborhood received baptism in 1867. A species of home missionary work has been begun

among white settlers living in the southern part of the land, where half-breeds are able to read and write, the reason being that the mothers, on whom instruction devolves, have been taught in Moravian schools.

The antecedents of this people were most unpromising, their surroundings are peculiarly disheartening, and, by the necessities of their condition, high social advancement is precluded. Position dooms them inexorably to the level of a low civilization; and yet, unstable, weak, rude, though they are, Christianity has effected a vast change among them. It is of comparatively small moment that the original Eskimo huts, with windows of ice-slabs or seal-bladder, have given place to houses with glass windows, an iron stove in the middle, and blankets instead of reindeer-skins for the bed; that the people have developed a creditable taste for music, learning tunes readily, many of the women and children possessing sweet voices; that the Eskimos succeed as draughtsmen, while our Indians draw like children, and Polynesians do not draw at all. Moral elevation is the main thing. At Okak, there is an Orphan Asylum. The Week of Prayer is now observed at all the stations. Schools kept by missionaries are maintained at each station, and all that could reasonably be expected has been accomplished.

Even the next year after labor was begun at

Nain (1772), sailors on board the missionary ship *Amity* were so impressed by the improvement in the behavior of the Eskimos as to exclaim: "They do not look like the old robbers and murderers; they have become good sheep already." Lieutenant Curtis, who was sent out by Commodore Shuldham, from Newfoundland, to view the Brethren's settlement, acknowledged that, though he started with strong prejudices against the missionaries, he was greatly surprised at the improvement of the natives, and made a highly favorable report of the undertaking. That occurred at an early stage of the mission. Half a century afterward (1821), a British man-of-war anchored in the harbor of Nain, the captain, Sir William Martin, having been instructed by the Governor of Newfoundland to investigate the work of Moravian missionaries in Labrador. So favorably impressed was Sir William by the deportment of the Christian Eskimos, that the same ship returned the following year with an autograph letter from the Governor, couched in most friendly terms. Still more recently (1849), the boat's crew of a ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been lost in the ice, was driven by the wind among the islands near Okak. They expected a cruel death from the Eskimos, who came off in their kayaks. But the nine emaciated men, to their surprise, were welcomed, and kindly taken on shore. Being unable, after their journey

of eight hundred miles in a boat, to walk, they were carried to the mission-house and tenderly cared for. They found native women singing Christian hymns at their work, and glad to prepare for them such food as was on hand. These servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who owed their preservation to missionary influence, were compelled to acknowledge the good results with tears of joy. Similar instances have occurred elsewhere. A New England whale-ship was once wrecked in the Pacific Ocean. Her commander, who had been second mate of a ship that foundered there some years before, recognized a neighboring island as one where he had seen a boat's company fall into the hands of cannibals. He and his comrades are, however, too exhausted and emaciated to attempt escape. They creep tremblingly to the top of a hill; the foremost one suddenly springs to his feet, claps his hands, and shouts: "Safe! safe! safe!" He has discovered a church in the midst of native huts; a kind hospitality awaits them.[1] Missionary pioneers are preparing the way for similar surprises all round the world.[2]

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[1] *Pres. For. Miss.*, 1853, p. 197.

[2] It can hardly be necessary to state that the interesting Labrador mission, established a few years since on Caribou Island, and still conducted by Rev. S. R. Butler, of Northampton, in this State — Bonne Esperance being now the headquarters — has an entirely different field. Mr. Charles C. Carpenter,

The present and the preceding lecture have contemplated subarctic evangelization as carried on by Moravians in Labrador and Greenland, two fields most uninviting to one who walks only by sight. The rigors of climate and the absence of outward attractiveness need not be further dwelt upon; but we would never forget that the very frost-smoke, which to those unacquainted might suggest a rising temperature, singes the skin of one's face and hands as effectively as fire itself; that, if anything will banish romance from missionary life, it is to find, as a young Moravian lady found, one year ago (April, 1880), on landing in Greenland, that her first step ashore was into snow up to the knee; that a preacher in the midst of his sermon is liable to see the lamp go

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having made a trip to that quarter on account of his health (1858), opened a correspondence with the Rev. Dr. Wilkes, of Montreal, through which the Canadian Foreign Missionary Society became interested in the religious condition of the fishermen — English, French and American — living on the northern coast of the Gulf of St Lawrence, or visiting those waters. Subsequently (1860), Mr. Carpenter was ordained as missionary, and, with Mr. Clary and Miss Brodie, began Christian work on the island just named. The locality and the people are widely remote from the sphere of Moravian labors. This mission is now under the care of the "Ladies' Committee of Zion Church, Montreal." The English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" has two or three stations in the same region and among the same class of persons. Eskimos, so far as they can be found in those parts, are mere stragglers. Some of the settlers have married Eskimo wives. The Methodists of Newfoundland also have attempted something in that quarter.

out because the oil has congealed — the thermometer indicating twenty, thirty, or more degrees below zero — and that sometimes numbers of his flock are in such straits as compel them to feed on seaweed and shell-fish, or to eat their own tent-skins.

Other drawbacks exist. For a long time past, there has been little love lost on the Continent of Europe between Germans and Danes. It is not strange, then, that national prejudice should manifest itself on the frigid border of Greenland, where one of the nationalities is so in the ascendancy, as to number and resources, besides representing the home government, which has a monopoly of trade, but has not a monopoly of evangelistic zeal. The Moravians appear to have carried themselves very discreetly and submissively, but have all along been reminded that they are aliens. For instance, there came at one time (1856) an injunction from the Danish Board of Trade, forbidding the missionaries at Lichtenau and Friedrichsthal to receive as inhabitants any heathen from the eastern coast who might apply for that privilege; also prohibiting re-admission to any families who might leave those settlements, and afterwards apply to be received again. All the heathen were to be directed to Danish stations. This was a selfish scheme for systematically withdrawing natives from the Moravians. The missionaries submitted, though with a sor-

rowful heart; but the iniquitous rescript was afterwards revoked. A few years ago, there were some connected with the colonial administration who advocated the expulsion of Moravian missionaries from Greenland. Danish publications have decried Moravian labors, and have pronounced the translation of the Scriptures into Greenlandic a useless pastime. So, too, in Labrador, servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and foreign fishermen have often been a great hindrance, especially by immoral practices.

In both countries, there may have been a slight mistake, on the part of missionaries, respecting the amount of charitable aid afforded to natives. If so, it was participation in a mistake only too common elsewhere. Few points in evangelistic policy require more discriminating caution, or oftener a wise reserve, than that of secular assistance. One of the early lessons to be inculcated is the duty of self-help till it reach self-support, and then pass on to efforts in behalf of the unevangelized elsewhere. Otherwise Christian character will be like a flaccid muscle, and pupilage will be prolonged, if not perpetuated. Hardly anything is more detrimental to religious growth than contentment in some needless eleemosynary habit. The Eskimos, in common with all untutored tribes, know little about self-restraint and wise forethought. The presence of European traders is attended by injurious consequences: for

thereby a damaging fondness for articles, which to them are mere luxuries, is fostered. Take the single one of coffee, and take a single illustration: A Greenlander, not long since, carried his supply of blubber to a Danish tradesman, and brought home, with other articles, seven pounds of coffee. He at once invited his friends to a repast; and, though the number was not large, they made an end of the whole seven pounds at one sitting. In consequence of an adoption, though partial, of European food and dress, together with other circumstances, the native constitution is becoming enfeebled.[1] Obtaining credit operates badly, of course; and, in general, the more intercourse with foreigners, the worse off the Greenlanders. Far better would it have been for them if, in becoming civilized Christians, they had not proportionally ceased to be Eskimos in their style of living. Their improvement is unequal; is not well-balanced. With all the advancements made in some directions, culinary practices are not yet quite what one might wish. For example, you may see a woman chew a piece of bacon for a while, and then put it into the frying-pan for the general benefit.

There has been, there still is, want of competent native helpers. Probably the Brethren, like

[1] Few Eskimos now live to the age of fifty; a man of sixty is very seldom met with. Women live longer than men, and widows are numerous.

many other missionaries, have been somewhat remiss in bringing forward men to be catechists and pastors. Unpromising and unsatisfactory as is the material, still it doubtless would have been well if, with all attendant risks, such auxiliaries had, at an earlier day, had the beneficial discipline of more responsibility put upon them, and of greater trust reposed in them. Not till 1850 was an institution for training native assistants established; it opened at Lichtenau, with six pupils, one of them, Simeon, a descendant of Kaiarnak, the first convert. A course of study for six winters was marked out. But the pupils have to earn their own livelihood by the customary Greenland callings — callings which differ a good deal from methods of self-support among our theological students — and do not have opportunity for very complete ministerial equipment. Relatively, however, it is sufficient. This school is for the Southern District; a like seminary for the Northern District was opened at New Herrnhut in 1866, with four pupils.

Coming, as we have so recently in our series of visits, from the Caribbean Sea, we can hardly avoid noting certain contrasts. I do not now refer to the extreme dissimilarity of physical features; but to a difference in one or two conditions of missionary experience. While a disheartening mortality has prevailed among missionaries in the American tropical missions, in these

northern regions there has been a very gratifying longevity. Of Brethren employed in Greenland — between sixty and seventy in number, during the first century — Frederick Bönisch labored for thirty years; six others were thus occupied from forty to fifty years each, and one for fifty-two years. In Labrador also there have been some prolonged terms of service.[1] We must linger a moment on one or two names. There was George Kmoch, belonging by birth to the Sclavic (Wendish) race, a plain man, who passed through various spiritual conflicts, had a strong impulse to offer himself for the missionary service, and spent thirty-four years in Labrador. He died in England (1857), aged eighty-seven, one year older than John Eliot, his last words being nearly the same with those of the apostle to the Indians — "Welcome! welcome!" Another among those self-denying men connected with the mission, was Benjamin Gottlieb Kohlmeister. After repeated solicitations, he began, at eighty-three, a written sketch of his life — the same age as that of Lord Brougham when he commenced a similar record. He was of Polish birth, but belonged to a religious Protestant family of humble circumstances. Such was his love for the Holy Scriptures in childhood, that, when a fire broke out on a street

[1] One of the female missionaries lived to be nearly 81; she died in 1851.

where they were living at Warsaw, instead of caring for clothes or trinkets, he seized the large family Bible, and, though hardly able to lift it, carried the treasure beyond the reach of danger. While yet a youth, he came under deep conviction of sin, and despairingly groaned — using the same words as Samuel J. Mills in similar circumstances — "Oh that I had never been born!" At Herrnhut, he became a devout man, labored thirty-four years in Labrador, grateful for such a privilege; and died in Silesia (1874), having reached his eighty-ninth year. What greater contrast could there be than between the social condition and life of Benjamin Kohlmeister, the Moravian mechanic, always poor, never conspicuous, spending his best days in such a bleak, unfrequented region, and a contemporary of his, Prince Talleyrand, a millionaire, on whom highest honors were lavished, the companion and counselor of kings! There is only one greater contrast. They were at a yet wider remove in character and disposition. At eighty-three, looking back upon his missionary experience, Kohlmeister writes: "That the Lord has counted me, one of the poorest of his children, worthy to serve him in weakness, amongst the heathen, is a favor for which I hope to praise him through eternity." Talleyrand, born about the same time, penned these words: "Behold, eighty-three years have passed away! What cares! What agitations!

What anxieties! What ill-will! What sad complications! And all without other result except great fatigue of body and mind, a profound sentiment of discouragement for the future, and disgust of the past!" Cheerfulness — yea, joy in the Lord — has characterized this whole body of Brethren during their long and dreary confinement in the great prison of ice and snow. No privations or hardships are severe enough to make them complain. In their love to the Saviour and to the souls of men, they speak even regarding a year of famine, or of great distress in any form, as "this happy year."

Reverting to navigation in equatorial and in northern waters, we notice a contrast. I do not ask you to review the middle passage of the slave-ships, nor to linger upon atrocities of West-Indian buccaneers; but I must bespeak your attention to the sea-experience of Moravians in their hyperborean enterprises. It was indispensable, from the first, that supplies should be furnished to the Brethren in Labrador at least once a year; and it was desirable that barter with the natives should be carried on through them — the oil, fish and furs of the country being exchanged for something more valuable than beads and other baubles, of which the Eskimos are fond. The expense of that mission has thus, to a considerable extent, been met. It is for the spiritual as well as temporal good of the natives

that this trade should be in the hands of Moravians; industry is thus stimulated. The "Ship's Company," so called, undertook at the outset to secure a packet, and continued to do so till 1797, when the English "Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel" — which was started in London (1741) by Spangenberg, resuscitated in 1764, and still engaged in its good work — became responsible for this as well as for other items of outlay.

Only one voyage of the Moravian ship from London to Labrador and back is undertaken annually. The journals of missionaries show that these trips have been attended by the fiercest storms and the most imminent perils. Even at a favorable season of the year, drift-ice sometimes extends full two hundred miles from the land outward. One summer (1816), it was found impossible for the ship to reach Hoffenthal; the next season she was held fast four weeks in the ice, and, at another time (1853), was able to reach only one of the four stations. Most signally has the preserving hand of Providence been interposed now for more than a century. Admiral Lord Gambier, Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland, and well acquainted with navigation in the North Atlantic, remarked repeatedly, that he considered the preservation of the Labrador ship during so long a course of years as the most remarkable occurrence in maritime

history. This had become so well recognized that the Society's vessel is insured by the underwriters at Lloyds', year after year, at a premium considerably less than what is charged for vessels bound to other portions of British North America, including the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is gratifying to light upon the record of a safe-conduct given to "*The Good Intent*, Captain Francis Mugford, Master," signed at Passy, 1779, by "Benjamin Franklin, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States at the Court of France."

No magnificent packet-ship, no man-of-war belonging to the British navy that I have had opportunity to visit, ever interested me so much as the *Harmony* — the fourth Moravian packet which has borne that name — then lying at the East-Indian dock in London. Her voyage last year (1881) was the one hundred and twelfth in the series. Her preservation for so long a time, and in the midst of such exceptional exposures, will appear all the more remarkable when it is remembered that, in the course of 1881, more than two thousand (2,039) shipwrecks occurred throughout the world, involving a loss of more than four thousand (4,134) lives, and an estimated property loss of more than a billion of dollars ($1,400,000,000). Not the size or build of the good ship *Harmony*, but her service, is her charm. She is the living link between warm

hearts in England and humble Christian exiles in Labrador. The figure-head represents an angel with a trumpet, and the scroll bears the words, "Glory to God: Peace on earth." At the centenary (1841) of the "Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel," to which the *Harmony* belongs, James Montgomery, the Moravian poet, sang: [1]

> "Thither, while to and fro she steers,
> Still guide our annual bark,
> By night and day, through hopes and fears,
> While lonely is the Ark;
> Along her single track she braves
> Gulfs, whirlpools, icebergs, winds and waves,
> To waft glad tidings to the shore
> Of longing Labrador.

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[1] The Moravian vessels, nine in all thus far, and having had seven captains, have been known under different names; as, *Jersey Packet*, *The Amity*, *The Good Intent*, *The Resolution*, and *The Harmony*, which last has been borne by four. During times of war between England and France, one after another of the vessels has been exposed to privateers. We are reminded of the capture of the first ship of the London Missionary Society, the *Duff*, by a French privateer (1800); and of the succession of vessels owned by that Society, *The Haweis*, *The Endeavor*, *The Messenger of Peace*, *The Camden*, and, last and largest of all, one having a memorable history and bearing a memorable name, *The John Williams*. Nor do we forget *The Southern Cross* in the service of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," nor yet the *Morning Star*, which, on first arriving at Honolulu, was greeted with a procession of two thousand children, and with religious services and festivities. See *Missionary Ships Connected with the London Missionary Society*. By E. Prout. London, 1865. *Story of the Morning Star*. By Hiram Bingham, Jr. Boston, 1866.

"How welcome to the watcher's eye,
From morn till even fixed,
The first faint speck that shows her nigh,
Where surge and sky are mixed!
Till, looming large and larger yet,
With bounding prow and sails full set,
She speeds to anchor on the shore
Of joyful Labrador."

But we must not leave these high latitudes without first glancing at their missionary future. Upon first thought, it seems somewhat like the prospect from one of those ice-hills far on toward the Polar Ocean, rugged and dreary. Disease now and then decimates the population; ardent spirits supplement the deadly work. Two hundred years ago, there may have been thirty thousand Eskimos in Greenland alone; there are now not more than one third of that number. While, with the exception of a few heathen on the south-eastern coast, they have become a nominally Christian people, as is the case in Labrador, their religious character is not stalwart. Few of them have any adequate ideas in regard to the training of children; many of them show a sad indifference to divine things. Too many of them seem to think that, if one meets death without alarm — whether such quietude results from medicine or disease or otherwise — it must be well with him hereafter. But is that a Polar peculiarity? You may today hear pious Eskimos giving thanks to God for the supplies of his providence and grace,

"We have no want; our lamps burn; we are not yet extinguished." With all that is dreary in the long Arctic night of the past, there may now be seen a beautiful ice-blink in the moral firmament of the North — the blink a peculiar brightness which assumes an arch-like form — through which is opened a vista into Paradise. Eskimo barbarism is a thing of the past; ferocity and violence are no longer to be feared. Less than a century and a half ago (1740), a Dutch brig was seized by the natives at the port of Disco, and the whole crew murdered. Two years later, the seamen of another vessel, that had stranded, met with the same fate. But for the last hundred years — so Dr. Kane affirms — "Greenland has been safer for the wrecked mariner than many parts of our coast; hospitality is the universal characteristic." Time was (1763) when Eskimo pirates, on the Labrador coast also, so infested the Straits of Belisle that it was unsafe for a fishing-vessel to enter singly, and no European would dare to pass a night among the natives. Now, how changed! And how much does Arctic navigation owe to Arctic evangelization! Theft is rare; lock or bolt is not needed. Formerly the Eskimos practiced the greatest cruelties upon their own kindred who became dependent; the aged, the infirm and widows being often put to death. Now a magazine is opened, in which the once hard-hearted and still improvident natives are

encouraged to deposit their superfluous stores, and to devote one tenth to widows and orphans. In general, it may be said, with reference to grossest vices and revolting superstitions, as truly as in the case of the ancient Corinthians: "And such were some of you: but ye are washed; but ye are sanctified; but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." Sacred hymns may be heard from the lips of oarsmen, as they glide among rocks and masses of floating ice. At New Herrnhut, a bell, the gift of the station Umanak, bears the motto: "Come, for all things are ready," and that sweet invitation mingles with the tempest as it howls around the turfed dwelling and about the rude sanctuary. Let the sound be wafted westward across Davis' Straits, and onward to Behring's Straits.

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Greenland mission is at hand (1883). Let it be kept in mind by the Moravian church, and the whole church of Christ, that all the tribes which skirt the Polar Sea, on both continents, are to be evangelized. It should be done, it may be done, chiefly by their own kinsmen. Existing Eskimo converts need the elevating and inspiriting influence of foreign evangelization. They must enter upon it, gather physical and spiritual nerve thereby, or they will die out. That consecration of two young men — Matthew Stach and

Frederick Bönisch, as they kneeled for prayer in a grove at Herrnhut, their hearts drawn toward Greenland, Anno Domini seventeen hundred and thirty-one — meant, we think, complete arctic evangelization; it meant the church-bell and church ordinances, and millennial glory, all round the frozen north of Asia, as well as America. While we here may have no personal agency in that branch of evangelistic work, let us have a share in cries to Heaven for the blessed consummation.[1]

Captain Franklin, in the narrative of his second expedition, records that some of the elderly natives said: "We believe there is a Great Spirit, who created everything, both us and the world for our use. We suppose that he dwells in the lands from whence the white people come, that he is kind to the inhabitants of those lands, and that there are people there who never die; the winds that blow from that quarter [south] are always warm. He does not know of the wretched

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[1] An Eskimo Christian once said: "When, in summer, we carry a light" — usually dry moss, soaked with oil — "from one tent to another, from which burning flakes often fall to the ground, they quickly set the dry grass on fire. Thus, when our Saviour came upon earth, he brought fire along with him, and scattered it around among men. And now he sends his servants forth into all the world, even unto us, with his Word; this they have scattered amongst us, and it has enkindled and put life into our hearts, so that we no longer walk in darkness as do others."

state of our island, nor of the pitiful condition in which we are." Ah, benighted brothers of the North! He does know, and we know; and annually at least, when the flotillas of ice come down from your wretched region, we will accept their presence as an appeal to pour out our hearts in your behalf.

LECTURE VII.

MISSIONS TO NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS.

MISSIONS TO NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS.

We will set ourselves back three hundred years in the history of this continent. No French settlement is to be found in Canada or Acadia, and no English settlement in New England or Virginia; a foothold has not been secured by the Dutch on Manhattan Island, nor by the Spaniards in Florida. From the Atlantic westward there stretches a vast wilderness, with forests unbroken save by noble streams and lakes. In those forests, along those watercourses, and around those lakes, no Caucasian white men, no African black men, are to be found; but only a copper-colored race—a race differing materially from Eskimos who inhabit the subarctic regions. Poetry and romance have pictured the earlier character of the red man in colors quite untrue to the original.[1]

[1] Poetry has sometimes been not less at fault in regard to the Indian's surroundings. Campbell, in his *Gertrude of Wyoming*, depicts the Oneidas of Western New York as hunting the alligator and condor. The latter is to be found no nearer than among the Andes of South America.

Casting an eye over the wide domain of America, North and South, we behold a race with substantially the same physical characteristics, from present British Possessions, through all varieties of climate, to Patagonia. Tribal peculiarities will be noticed, yet everywhere a strong general similarity. We will limit our view, however, to the territory lying between the Atlantic and the Mississippi. We here see a man erect; hands and feet small; skin soft to the touch; hair straight, black, devoid of lustre, coarse, approaching to that of a horse's mane; eyes dark and deep-set; cheek bones high; countenance hard and cold. His senses are acute; he is swift of foot, and free from personal defect or deformity. Hunting and fishing yield him chief subsistence; he has never domesticated an animal for the sake of milk. Here and there, the soil is tilled, though by woman. She alone plants, reaps, cooks, builds, and is the universal drudge, the beast of burden The Indian himself, proud, lordly, lazy, "unspeakably indolent and slothful," says David Brainerd disdains service. He is improvident and reckless This haughty idler — I speak of the Indian in his aboriginal state — has no fine feelings, no genuine cheerfulness, no sense of the comic, which is so abundant among Africans; he is impassive, and hence in the wigwam there are few bickerings. Once roused, his joy becomes a frenzy, and allies itself with passions and associations

that are maniacal. He is jealous, envious, and to the last degree vindictive, never forgiving an injury. Of dissembling he is a great master; but the secret of that art is the inspiration of deep revenge. Genuine courage he has not; he is a creature of stratagems; stealth and ambush are his forte. Pity has no place in his heart; the tomahawk makes no discrimination between the strong arm of a foe and the helplessness of old age or of infancy. Under privations and suffer ings, the red man exhibits intrepidity—an intrepidity, however, due to indomitable pride, and to a stern rigidity of nature, rather than to anything truly heroic. All his education, all traditions, fortify him for bidding grim defiance to his foes. The noble Indian, whether of earlier or later times, is, for the most part, a myth. Quick to perceive, the red man is sluggish and inapt as a reasoner. His deliberateness in counsel seems to be due more to the fact that time is of no value to him, and that he has mastered the mock wisdom of dilatoriness, than to any habit of dispassionate reflection, or deference to the opinions of others. He is proverbially taciturn. His oratory, when he attempts it, is pompous, usually mere magniloquence, marked by a high key in delivery, and by an abundant imagery, sometimes beautiful, now and then pathetic and impressive. Rude and meagre pictorial devices form his nearest approach to culture.

As to their languages, it is a striking fact that American aborigines, Eskimos included, from the Arctic Ocean to the Straits of Magellan, however various their vocabularies, have, so far as is known, but one type of speech, the Otomi of Mexico excepted. It is estimated that, at the present time, the Indians on these two continents, North and South America, speak between four and five hundred distinct languages; while the dialects[1] employed number, perhaps, two thousand. Here is an astonishing diversity as to substance, amidst similarity of structure. Words are often a heap of abraided syllables, fifteen or twenty in number, a single term sometimes constituting a sentence by itself. The largest number of ideas can be expressed in the smallest number of words — all the complex modifications of subject and object, object and action, being combined. We are reminded that Cotton Mather, speaking of the Indian language, which John Eliot reduced to writing, says of the words: "One would think they had been growing ever since Babel unto the dimensions to which they are now extended." So characteristic and vital is this feature of aggregation, that seldom does a word stand by itself, expressing an abstract idea; every word must usually have something associated with it by combination, as "my house,"

[1] A. H. Keane in *Bates's Central and South America*, 243.

never "house" alone. No substantive verb, no infinitives are found, yet verbs predominate. There is an almost limitless power of combining, so that great affluence of words exists, and, with flexibility, an unusual regularity. Whatever the poverty of ideas among Indian nations, their languages are rich in forms and terms. There was no literature to give permanency to language. Neighboring tribes often differ widely in their methods of speech; the Mohegans, for instance, using a profusion of labials, but the Mohawks none. The native languages have been characterized as polysynthetic, and this feature is but a reflex of the Indian mind, which does not analyze and discriminate, but views things only in the gross. Neither habit nor language favors abstraction.

The whole aboriginal population on that territory east of the Mississippi, which now belongs to the United States, probably did not equal the present number of inhabitants in any one of eight different cities within the same limits — two hundred thousand;[1] that population, too, was distributed into numerous tribes, and most of the tribes into clans. Individual independence is the red

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[1] The whole number in North America at the present time does not equal 1,000,000; the whole number in the United States, both east and west of the Mississippi, is less than 275,000.

man's boast, the chase his delight, war his glory. Tillage is of the rudest sort; flocks and herds there are none. Hunter-life everywhere forbids the gathering into populous settlements. These unsocial stoics of the wigwam, these alternately phlegmatic and fierce denizens of the forest, are the Bedouin of the New World.

Before becoming acquainted with Europeans, it does not appear that the men of the woods had any well-defined idea of a Supreme Being. Their languages had no word for "God," for "holiness," for "justice," or "thankfulness." Were they profane? Nay, for terms were wanting with which to be guilty of profaneness. Nature seemed to them vaguely peopled by inferior divinities — Manitous — no one of which was an object of love or of pleasing reverence, but all rather to be dreaded, and needing, on special occasions, to be propitiated. Charms were in use, dreams much observed. Their powwows, the sheerest charlatans, were at once priests, physicians and conjurers; and their whole religion a system of sorcery based upon superstitious fears. Their highest conception of a future state was a reproduction of the present amidst "happy hunting-grounds" in some region remote and ill-defined. Immortality of the soul was sometimes distinctly affirmed:[1] "We Indians cannot die eternally; even Indian

[1] *Loskiel* (Latrobe's), 36.

corn buried in the ground is vivified and rises again." Such substantially were the American aborigines, and more especially within the limits occupied or claimed by British colonists.

Sad indeed is it to contemplate such a people, spreading over two continents, for weary centuries maintaining petty warfare, like true sons of Ishmael, and, to some extent it would seem, deteriorating rather than improving. "The way of peace they had not known." Did some guilty infatuation lead them hither? Was it for special crimes that they were driven from the earlier seats of mankind, and from all possible reach of apostolic enterprise? Why were they allowed to remain for fifteen centuries isolated from the Christian world?[1] With their dark and mysterious antecedents we can never become acquainted; the secrets of an all-wise Providence must remain forever concealed.

From the time that this people became known in Europe, some thoughtful minds were impressed with the importance of communicating to them the Christian religion. Roman Catholic methods and enterprise in that direction, proceeding from

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[1] Chapter forty-eight of Fabricius's *Lux Evangelii* is devoted to the subject: *De America — Num in illam quoque Apostoli penitraverint. Apostolos etiam penetrasse in Americam multi contendunt ex Propheticarum prædictionum, ex mandati Christi, et testimoniorum Apostolicorum universalitate generali sine exceptione ad totum qui sub cælo est terrarum orbem et universum genus humanum pertinente.* 763.

France and Spain, we need not now consider. The story of French missions among the Abenakis, the Hurons, the Iroquois, and other tribes, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is a story of heroism and of rare privations. The early settlements of our fathers in New England were not without a distinctive missionary element. That was avowed at the time; it was incorporated into early charters; it found expression in seasonable efforts to Christianize the natives. Legislative action was had at Plymouth (1636) and at Boston (1646) with reference to evangelizing the Indians; and it must always be acknowledged as peculiarly significant that the Massachusetts colony should have adopted for its seal the device of an Indian with this legend on a scroll: "Come over and help us." "The General Court of Massachusetts," says Dr. Palfrey, "was the first missionary society in Protestant Christendom." The labors of John Eliot, begun just before the middle of the seventeenth century, are known throughout the Protestant world. Thomas Mayhew was already at work on Martha's Vineyard when Eliot began his work (1646); and the family of Mayhews did not fail for five generations in their uninterrupted line of similar Christian effort till within the present century (1806). Other honored names belong to the earlier period. Thirty years after the "Apostle to the Indians" entered on his missionary work, twenty-four regular congregations had

been gathered in Massachusetts, with the same number of native preachers (1675); fifty years from the same date (1696) there were thirty Indian churches, in some of which a native pastorate had been established, and three fourths of the whole Indian population (3,000 out of 4,168) were accounted Christians. Meanwhile "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England" was incorporated in Old England (1649); and, just sixty years later (1709), the "Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." At the opening of the last century (1700), thirteen missionaries, supported by government, might be seen laboring in the English colonies, and others not thus supported were similarly engaged. In Rhode Island, but more especially in Connecticut, a measure of success, though less than in Massachusetts, attended such efforts. The eastern part of Long Island was the scene of Horton's labors. John Sergeant left a tutorship in Yale College (1734) to collect roving Mohegans into a Christian settlement at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he was succeeded by the immortal Edwards in a service of six years. Time fails to speak, in this connection, of what was effected by David Brainerd and his brother John; by Eleazer Wheelock, through the "Charity School;" by Samuel Kirkland, among the Oneidas (1764–1808); and by various denominational missions of the present century, in behalf of tribes chiefly outside of that geographical field

to which, for the most part, Moravian zeal devoted itself.

The year 1734 was, for that period, one of note in the missionary world. It was the year in which a new station in Greenland, called Christian's Hope, was founded. A reinforcement went out from Denmark to establish a Christian colony at Disco Bay; fourteen Moravian brethren and sisters, designated to St. Croix, arrived in the West Indies; and John Sergeant, as just stated, began his labors among the Stockbridge Indians. It was also the date of the first movement from Herrnhut in behalf of the red man. The English trustees offered to Count Zinzendorf a tract of land in the province of Georgia; and the hope arose in his mind that access might thus be obtained to the Creeks, Chickasaws and Cherokees. Through the negotiation of Bishop Spangenberg in London, General Oglethorpe secured pecuniary aid; and the use of houses and land in Savannah was granted, till a tract on the river Ogeechee could be cleared. The first company of United Brethren, who started from Herrnhut under the conduct of John Töltschig and Anthony Seiffart, and, accompanied by Spangenberg, arrived in Georgia in the spring of 1735; and an expedition of that kind was then equivalent to a voyage round the world in our day. Such was the first company from any quarter that reached the shores of America with the

express and leading object of evangelizing natives. On the part of sundry others, that had been, and continued to be, an object, yet a subordinate object. It should stand out conspicuously in the annals of Christ's church, that, from the heart of Germany, from a community so small and so recently gathered, there might be seen a band of men and women, a century and a half ago, finding their way to the seaboard, and thence across the Atlantic, on such a missionary errand. A larger company, under the lead of David Nitschmann, joined them. Labor was begun among Creek Indians on the island Irene, five miles up the Savannah River, and their confidence secured. But, when the Spaniards endeavored to drive out the English colony from Georgia, the Moravians were called upon to bear arms. Military service was contrary to their principles — principles which in London they distinctly avowed, and in view of which exemption had been granted. Their situation becoming extremely uncomfortable on that account, they withdrew to Pennsylvania (1738 and 1739); and thus, after three years, this incipient mission was suspended.

Spangenberg, having visited Pennsylvania, returned to Herrnhut (1739), and his representations concerning the Indians made such an impression that several of the Brethren resolved to hold themselves ready for evangelistic ser-

vice among those savage heathens, and Christian Henry Rauch led the way. The instructions given him are worth remembering: "Not in any wise to interfere with the labors of other missionaries or ministers, or cause any disturbance among them, but silently to observe whether any of the heathen were by the grace of God prepared to receive the Word of Life — that, even if only one was to be found desirous of hearing, to him the gospel should be preached; for God must give the heathen ears to hear the gospel, and hearts to receive it." Arriving in New York (1740), he found there an embassy of Mohegan Indians. Their names were Tschoop,[1] or Choop, and Shabash, the former a chief, and both of them debased drunkards. Though dissuaded by friends in New York, Rauch followed these men to their homes at Shekomeko in White Plains, Dutchess County, fifty miles south of Albany, near the confines of Connecticut.[2] By means of the Dutch language, with which the Indians there had become partially acquainted, Rauch was enabled to

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[1] His original Indian name was *Wasamapah;* his English name before baptism, *Job;* his baptismal name, *John.* Bishop De Schweinitz (Life of Zeisberger, 98) is of opinion that *Tschoop* must be a misnomer for the German name of *Job,* viz., *Hiob.*

[2] Heckewelder, in his *Narrative,* 418, speaks of Shekomeko as "bordering on the Connecticut River," instead of *Province* of Connecticut.

make known the essential truths of Christianity, and the two savages were at length converted. Before baptism, Tschoop wrote a letter in which occur expressions like these: "I have been a poor wild heathen, and for forty years as ignorant as a dog. I was the greatest drunkard and the most willing slave of the Devil; and, as I knew nothing of our Saviour, I served vain idols, which I now wish to see destroyed by fire. Of this I have repented with many tears. . . . Now, I feel and believe that our Saviour alone can help me by the power of his blood, and no other. I believe that he is *my* God and *my* Saviour, who died on the cross for *me*, a sinner. I wish to be baptized, and long for it most ardently." It was signed, "I am your poor, wild Tschoop." The fierce and profligate man became lamb-like in character; and for four years served the mission, or rather the Master, actively and usefully. He had peculiar tact in employing symbols and illustrations. Describing human wickedness, he took a piece of charcoal, and drew on a board a figure of a heart, with stings and points in all directions. "This," he said, "is the state of man's heart while Satan dwells in it; every evil thing proceeds from it." Bishop Spangenberg declared that he had the countenance of a Luther. He acquired energy and clearness of speech, and at times was truly eloquent. His aptness in replies was not unlike the great Reformer. A woman

said to him: "As soon as I have a good heart, I will turn to the Lord Jesus." "Ah!" replied Tschoop, "you want to walk on your head! How can you get a good heart unless you first come to Jesus?"[1] In recounting his conversion, the once sottish Tschoop gave, at the same time, a valuable lecture on preaching. "Brethren," said he, "I have been a heathen, and have grown old amongst the heathen; therefore I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came, and began to explain that there is a God. We answered: 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Go back to the place whence thou camest.' Then again another preacher came nd began to teach us, and to say: 'You must not steal nor lie nor get drunk.' We answered: 'Thou fool! dost thou think we do not know that? Learn thyself first, and then teach the people to whom thou belongest to leave off these things. For who steals or lies, or is more drunken, than thine own people?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time, Brother Christian Henry Rauch came into my hut, and sat down by me. He spoke to me nearly as follows: 'I come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth. He sends to let you know that he will make you happy, and deliver you from the misery in which you lie at present. To this end

[1] He died at Bethlehem, Penn., August 27, 1746.

he became a man, gave his life a ransom for man, and shed his blood for him,' etc. When he had finished his discourse, he lay down upon a board, fatigued by the journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I then thought: 'What kind of a man is this? There he lies and sleeps. I might kill him, and then throw him out into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern.' However, I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when I was asleep, I dreamt of that blood which Christ shed for us. I found this to be something different from what I had ever heard, and I interpreted Christian Henry's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening took place amongst us. I say, therefore"— and, in repeating, I would also adopt the words of that rude professor of homiletics — "I say, therefore, Brethren, preach Christ our Saviour and his sufferings and death, if you would have your words to gain entrance amongst the heathen."[1]

A Christian congregation was established at Shekomeko, and at the end of 1742 there were thirty-one baptized natives. Other Moravian laborers joined Rauch. They dressed and lived after the manner of Indians, and even worked for them to earn daily bread. By the close of

[1] Loskiel's *History*, Part II, 14, 15.

the year following, sixty-nine had received baptism. Some of the Indians came twenty-five and thirty miles to attend upon worship and instruction. These were chiefly from Pachgatgoch,[1] near the present town of Kent, in Litchfield County, Connecticut, and missionaries visited that place; they also visited Potatick, in Fairfield County, twenty-four miles from New Haven, near Newtown. They toured and taught to the north, at Wechquadnach near Sharon, at Whitak near Salisbury, and at Westenhuc, probably Housatonic, in Berkshire County, Massachusetts. It startles us to find these indefatigable men from Germany penetrating into New England, and by their example bringing a silent rebuke to the English settlements. Thoughtful natives could not help noticing a contrast. At one time, when a trader was endeavoring to persuade a Christian named Abraham that the Brethren were not privileged teachers, he replied: "They may be what they will; but I know what they have told me, and what God has wrought within me. Look at my poor countrymen there, lying drunk before your door. Why do you not send privileged teachers to convert them if they can? Four years ago, I also lived like a beast, and not one of you troubled himself about me; but when the Brethren came, they preached the cross of Christ, and

[1] Called by the whites *Scatticoke*.

I have experienced the power of his blood, according to their doctrine, so that I am freed from the dominion of sin. Such teachers we want." These native helpers often showed rare firmness. A chief who had received the baptismal name of Gideon,[1] and had become a fellow-worker, was one day attacked by a savage, who, aiming his gun at him, shouted: "Now I'll shoot you, for you speak of nothing but Jesus!" "If Jesus does not permit you," answered Gideon, "you cannot shoot me." The man dropped his gun, and turned away in silence.

The Indians at the settlements which have been named were chiefly remnants of Mohegans, Narragansetts and Wampanoags; but the popular name of those among whom the Brethren labored in Connecticut, was Scatticokes. Those in the Valley of the Housatonic at Kent (Pachgatgoch) became, in some good measure and in considerable numbers, a Christian community; over a hundred and twenty of them were baptized; a place for worship was built; and such hold had religion taken upon the natives, such reformation had been effected, that rumsellers, and dissolute persons round about, found their gains cut off. Demetrius became alarmed for his shrines, and enraged that his craft was "in

[1] The original name was *Manwehu*. De Forest's *Indians of Connecticut*, 407.

danger of being brought to nought." A scheme was set on foot for driving the missionaries from the whole region. It was charged that they were emissaries of the French — France being then at war with England. An attempt was made to exact military service from the Brethren. They were summoned to Poughkeepsie and required to take an oath, both of which acts were a violation of their principles; for at that day Moravians harmonized — though now they do not in these two particulars — with the followers of William Penn. Pains were taken to poison the minds of English and Dutch colonists and magistrates, as well as heathen Indians, towards them. The Assembly of New York passed two acts — one requiring all suspicious persons to take the oath of allegiance, or leave the Province; the other, enjoining Moravians, and vagrant teachers among the Indians, to desist from further teaching or preaching, and to depart from the Province. The sheriff of Dutchess County, assisted by three justices of the peace, closed the mission chapel. Here and there, it is true, dispassionate testimony was borne to the character of the Brethren and to the results of their labor. A justice of the peace at Filkentown declared that "he must acknowledge the mission in Shekomeko to be a work of God, because, by the labor of the Brethren, the most savage heathen had been so evidently changed, that he, with many other

Christians, were put to shame by their godly walk and conversation." [1] A justice of the peace from the neighborhood, who accompanied Bishop Spangenberg on his visit to Shekomeko, affirmed that he would rather have his hand cut off than treat the Brethren in accordance with the act which had been passed against them, for with his own eyes he could see that wonders of grace had been wrought among the Indians.[2] Five years later (1749), the Parliament of Great Britain put a check upon such unauthorized provincial legislation, by an act for encouraging the people known by the name of Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, to settle in his majesty's colonies, allowing them "to make a solemn affirmation in lieu of an oath, and exempting them from military service." [3] The Brethren were law-abiding men, peaceably inclined, and accordingly betook themselves to Pennsylvania,[4] whither, with the exception of seventy-one converts, the Christian Indians followed, who, upon leaving, were loaded with jeers and curses. White men at once seized their lands, with the purpose of never allowing the ex-

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[1] Heckewelder's *Narrative*, 25.

[2] "*Da wir aber selbst hinkamen o meine Brüder!*" exclaims the good Bishop, "*dass müsste ein todter Mensch seyn, der nicht über der Gnade, die diesen Volke wiederfahren ist, in Thränen zerflösse.*" *Loskiel*, 285.

[3] *Life of Zeisberger*, 118, 154.

[4] In 1755, Rauch conducted a Moravian colony to the District of Wacovia in North Carolina.

iles to reoccupy them. Thus was the second Moravian mission, which proved a success for the time, and had reasonably awakened strong hopes, broken up by prejudiced and evil-minded men. In 1749, labors were renewed at the old stations in New York and New England. Wechquadnach was not entirely abandoned till 1753, nor Pachgatgoch till 1770, missionaries continuing to visit such Christian remnants as preferred persecution to exile, and so lingered behind. Only fifty miles to the north of this field of Moravian effort, and sixteen to the east of Albany, was Kaunaumeek, where David Brainerd began his labors among the Indians, spending the next year there (1743), after Rauch commenced at Shekomeko. The place is now known as "Brainerd's Bridge,"[1] but no monument marks the spot.[2]

It will be recollected that upon the Spanish invasion of Georgia, Moravian missionaries among the Creeks felt constrained to retire from that field. They took passage in George Whitefield's sloop, and, with the celebrated preacher, reached Philadelphia April 25, 1740. Under an engagement to him, they began building a school-house for negro

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[1] Not named for the missionary, but for Jeremiah Brainerd.

[2] In 1859, the Moravian Historical Society, with appropriate observances, dedicated to the memory of Christian Rauch and Gottlob Büttner monuments at Shekomeko, overlooking a sheet of water called *Gnadensee*, "Lake of Grace;" and, at Wechquadnach, one to the memory of David Bruce and Joseph Powell.

children, still known as the "Whitefield House," and which, with its museum of Moravian relics, no stranger at the present day, in visiting Nazareth, Northampton County, fails to inspect. The next year, that site was abandoned for one on the Lehigh River, fifty miles from Philadelphia; and there was founded Bethlehem, now the most important Moravian settlement in the United States, the Herrnhut of America, and which early became the center of direction for the missions of the United Brethren among Indian tribes.

Nearly all the Province of Pennsylvania was within the limits of the widespread Algonquin family, which also included Virginia, Maryland, a great part of the Middle States, New England, Western States to the Mississippi, and British Possessions toward the extreme north. Differences in their language are only dialectic. One of the dialects was that into which Eliot translated the Bible. The natives in Western Connecticut and beyond the western border of that State, among whom we have seen the Moravians laboring, were branches of the same stock. But within this far-reaching Algonquin field was a distinct and a comparatively compact race, Huron-Iroquois. They occupied New York, a part of Pennsylvania, and a part of Canada north of Lake Erie. These two families were geographically situated somewhat as the Wendish stock is encompassed, like an island, by the Teutons of Northern Europe.

The Iroquois, first known to English colonists as "The Five Nations," afterwards [1] better known as "The Six Nations," were the fierce Ishmaelites of the land, ever at war with neighbors. Their local position, a peculiarly favorable one, extended from the gate of the Great Lakes to the head-waters of the Ohio, the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Hudson. Energetic and sagacious, they had a brain-measure superior to other aborigines, and a general development, though savage, yet superior to that of surrounding savages. Their confederacy, represented by fifty sachems in a general council, accustomed to meet at the Onondaga capital, gave them the advantage of concert, so much wanting generally among Indian tribes, and was at once a source and proof of more advanced capacity and power. They were proportionately haughty, entertaining exalted notions of their rank, and admitting the king of England alone to be on a parity with them. To this proud and warlike confederacy the peace-loving Moravians proposed to carry the gospel. Pyrlæus, who had visited the Mohawks and acquired their language, was appointed to teach the same in a kind of institute at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. But, this being a time of excited suspicion on account of the war between England and France, the young men

[1] The related tribe of Tuscaroras, from North Carolina, was adopted 1712–1715.

destined for service among the Six Nations could not then secure favorable access. Two of his pupils, Zeisberger and Mack, were designated to labor at Shamokin, now Sunbury, Northumberland County, an Indian town on the Susquehanna, fifty-six miles north of Harrisburg; and there the former of these two, Zeisberger, began his Iroquois dictionary. He visited Wyoming, in Luzerne County, opposite the mouth of the Lackawanna, which, as well as the place just named, was one of the Iroquois dependencies. Little success, however, attended Moravian efforts among the Six Nations.

Among the Delawares, they met with encouragement. This people — whose native name is Lenni-Lenape, belonging to the great Algonquin family, and recognized originally by other branches of that stock as "Grandfathers" — were more widely scattered than the Six Nations, but inferior to them in prowess. Indeed, they were a conquered people, and hence, in token of subjection, called "Women." They were, however, more accessible to Christian influences. But the first missionary stations established in Pennsylvania were at settlements of Christian Indian refugees, not of the Delaware stock, from those earlier fields in Eastern New York and the western part of Connecticut, whence they had been driven by the hostility of neighboring white settlers. The names Friedenshütten, "Tents of Peace," at Bethlehem (1746),

and soon after Gnadenhütten, "Tents of Grace," on the Mahony,[1] in Carbon County, as well as a second Gnadenhütten,[2] indicate the ever-hopeful spirit and pious imagination of the harassed Moravians. In process of time, Christian labor was commenced at various places successively in behalf of Indian natives of Pennsylvania, who, as well as immigrants from the East, became fugitives in turn. Within the present limits of Munroe County were Wechquetank[3] and Meniolagomekak;[4] in Lehigh County, Nain;[5] in Bradford County, the second Friedenshütten;[6] Machiwihilusing, near by (1765), and Schechschiquanünk, some thirty miles distant.[7] Venango County had within its borders Goschgoschünk,[8] on the east

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[1] Signifying "Deer Lick," where was a salt-spring.

[2] Now Weissport, on the east bank of the Lehigh (1754) destroyed by the French Indians, 1756.

[3] In the present town of Polk, twenty-seven miles north of Nain (1760). From here and from Nain, Indians were removed to the Philadelphia barracks, 1763.

[4] In Eldred Township, on the north bank of the Aquanshicola, eight miles west of Wind Gap.

[5] Where is now Hanover, two miles from Bethlehem, settled by fugitives from other stations, 1758; abandoned 1765.

[6] On the east side of the Susquehanna, two miles below Wyalusing Creek, where the Christian Indians who had been transported to Philadelphia were established, 1765; abandoned 1775.

[7] A town of the Monseys, on the west branch of the Susquehanna (1769).

[8] A Monsey town occupied by Zeisberger (1765), the first white man in the place.

branch of the Alleghany, and three miles above Lawunakhannek,[1] which was abandoned 1770; and, at the extreme west of the State, Lawrence County had its Friedensstadt, "City of Peace."[2] Still later, Ohio witnessed the labors and severe trials of Moravian missionaries, especially in the valley of the Tuscarawas River. The county bearing that name reckoned at different times six stations: Gekelemukpechünk,[3] the first capital of the Delawares in Ohio, and where the first Protestant sermon in that State was preached (1771); Gnadenhütten the Third;[4] Schönbrunn, "Beautiful Spring,"[5] where the first meeting-house and first school-house in the State were built, and the first white child was born (1773); also new Schönbrunn,[6] Salem,[7] and Goshen.[8] The neighboring

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[1] In the midst of the present oil region (1769). The Indians were acquainted with petroleum, and used it for medicinal purposes.

[2] On Beaver River (1770); deserted 1773.

[3] In the town of Oxford; abandoned by the tribe 1775.

[4] In Clay Township, on the Tuscarawas River (1772). The Indians were massacred 1782.

[5] In Goshen, two miles from New Philadelphia; the first settlement of Christian Indians in Ohio.

[6] Also in Goshen, on the opposite side of the Tuscarawas River (1779); destroyed in 1782.

[7] On the west bank of the Tuscarawas River, a mile or two from Port Washington (1780).

[8] In the present town of Goshen, seven miles from Gnadenhütten, the last settlement of Christian Indians established by Zeisberger (1798).

county of Coshocton has a record of the two stations — Goschachgünk,[1] the second capital of the Delawares; and Lichtenau,[2] "Pasture of Light." To the north we find Pilgerruh,[3] "Pilgrim's Rest," in Cuyahoga County; New Salem,[4] in Erie County; and, further west, Captives' Town.[5] The State of Michigan also had its New Gnadenhütten.[6] Crossing into Canada West, we light upon Die Warte,[7] "The Watch-Tower," at the mouth of Detroit River; Fairfield,[8] on the right bank of the Thames, and New Fairfield,[9] on its left bank.

Now, whence came the men who sought out

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[1] Now Coshocton, on the Muskingum, below the junction of the Tuscarawas and Walholding.

[2] On the east bank of the Muskingum, two or three miles below Coshocton; the third settlement of Christian Indians in the State (1776).

[3] In the town of Independence, on the east bank of the Cuyahoga River, where, however, the Christian Indians remained only one year (1786).

[4] In the township of Milan, a few miles from the mouth of the Huron River (1787); abandoned 1791.

[5] In Antrim, Wyandot County, on the Sandusky River, eleven miles below Upper Sandusky (1781).

[6] In Clinton, Macomb County, on the south side of the Clinton River (1782).

[7] Near Amherstburg, a stopping-place of Christian Indians in 1791–2.

[8] In Oxford, eighty-five miles from the mouth of the river (1792).

[9] In Oxford, a mile and a half from Fairfield, back from the river.

bands of savage aborigines, and followed them from valley to valley, over mountain ridges and through primeval forests, before the hand of civilization had opened even the rudest thoroughfares? Pausing to reflect a moment, it strikes us as noteworthy that at the present time our own sons and brothers are so widely scattered through the heathen world. Yet there is not one of them, even among the antipodes, who may not reach his birthplace here in much less time than was required for an average journey of those Moravians from these fields of missionary toil to their native seats. They came from Alsace, from the Palatinate, from the Black Forest, from Würtemburg, from Swabia, Brandenburg, Holstein, Livonia, Polish Prussia, Moravia and Bohemia. They came, the first heralds of the gospel, to regions, though not to the race, which, after the lapse of a century, are now sending forth young men and women to Africa, India, China and Japan. Some of them belonged, as everywhere else and through the whole history of the Unitas Fratrum thus far, to the humbler classes; some of them were well educated. John Jacob Schmick graduated at the University of Königsberg; Matthew Hehl, at Tübingen; and Pyrlæus, at Leipzig — institutions to which numerous young men from our country now resort for advanced study.

From the catalogue of laborers among North-American Indians, several names might be selected

of men deserving honorable mention in the general history of missions. The name of Christian Henry Rauch, the solitary man who landed at New York (1740), when, unknown to him, the little colony of United Brethren were flying from Georgia, followed two degraded Indians to their haunt on the confines of Eastern New York, and won them to Christ, has been introduced. The laborers afterwards on the same field were worthy of those monuments which have been erected to their memory. Not less worthy of mention is John Heckewelder,[1] whose father was a native of Moravia, an associate of Zeisberger, who started on his first missionary journey before he was fully nineteen — a man who rode three days and two nights to prevent an Indian outbreak, and succeeded; who repeatedly escaped attempts of the savages to murder him; who enjoyed the confidence of General Washington; who was appointed by the War Department of the United States as Assistant Commissioner, at different times, with such men as General Ru-

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[1] *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Volume XII, 465. The original work was translated into German, and published at Göttingen, 1821. A translation into French, by Du Ponceau, appeared in Paris in 1822. Other works by Heckewelder: *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohecan Indians*, 1820; *Names which the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians, give to the Rivers*, etc., 1822.

fus Putnam, General Benjamin Lincoln, Colonel Timothy Pickering and some others, to negotiate treaties of peace with Indian tribes; who wrote a valuable history of the Lenni-Lenape, as well as other works. In recognizing the special providence of God, he makes this record: "I have experienced the divine protection in a singular manner (for which all glory and praise is due to Him), in all those common and inevitable dangers to which all those are more or less exposed who have to perform similar journeys of several hundreds of miles through the wilderness, continually surrounded by all the perils of storms and swollen waters, of hunger and frost, by day and night, and of venomous and ravenous beasts. Four times I have met panthers, twice when I was quite alone, which, however, after stopping and sitting down opposite to me for a short time, rose again without attacking me, and slunk off to the forest; and, at another time, I killed in my encampment at Cuyahoga, in one day, with the assistance of Indians, six rattlesnakes."[1] He was a man to sing, with his companion,[2] inspiring German missionary hymns, in the midst of a howling wilderness, wild beasts and birds the only listeners. Notwithstanding an ample experience of toil and privations, the

[1] Rondthaler's *Life of Heckewelder*, 139.

[2] Christian Frederick Post.

useful, cheerful man, a man of great simplicity and transparency of character, attained to a good old age, even fourscore years; and in the beautiful cemetery at Bethlehem, beside the remains of fifty-six Indians, rest the remains of this faithful friend of the Delawares.

But the name more especially deserving an extended notice is that of David Zeisberger, the John Eliot of the West, the Apostle of the Delawares. Born in the village of Zauchtenthal, in Eastern Bohemia (1721), he was taken at five years of age by his parents, when, leaving their all, they fled for conscience' sake to Herrnhut. Joining the Moravian colony which was patronized by General Oglethorpe, they emigrated to Georgia (1736), whither their son David, at sixteen, followed them from Holland, where he had been placed at school. From Georgia, he went with the remnants of that colony to Pennsylvania. At a dinner-table in Bethlehem, as some Moravian young men were singing a German hymn,[1] in the way of grace, he was deeply impressed, burst into tears, left the table, and spent the afternoon in weeping and praying, till the light of Christian hope dawned upon him. The hour of conversion was the hour of his consecra-

[1] One of Zinzendorf's well-known hymns:

"Du ewiger Abgrund der seligen Liebe,
In Jesu Christo aufgethan."

tion to the cause of missions. Soon after, he joined the class of students under John Christopher Pyrlæus, for the study of Indian languages, and was enrolled as one destined for service among the heathen. The next year, he went to the Valley of the Mohawk (1745), with a view to perfecting himself in the Indian language spoken there, and King Hendrick became his instructor. But the authorities at Albany, entertaining a suspicion that he and his companion were spies in the interest of France, had them arrested, examined, and dismissed to New York City, where they were imprisoned for nearly two months — an indignity and wrong which were borne with characteristic Moravian cheerfulness. On leaving the place, they inscribed verses from the German hymn-book on the walls of their room, as a testimony of their trust in God. Not long afterward, Zeisberger was appointed one of two envoys to accompany Bishop Spangenberg on a deputation to Onondaga, the capital of the Six Nations, with a view to negotiations; and in a similar way he accompanied Bishop Cammerhoff to the same official center of that powerful league — a visit repeated four times at later dates — where he built a mission-house, and was made keeper of the archives of the Grand Council. He was sought for by the Indians to live among them; was adopted by the Iroquois, and enrolled in the clan of the Turtle; afterwards was also natural-

ized by the Monseys. Scarcely a journey or undertaking of any kind did he enter upon, which had not the welfare of Indians for its object.

On visiting Herrnhut, he received from Count Zinzendorf an appointment, with the imposition of hands, as perpetual missionary to the aborigines of America; and faithfully was this commission, which accorded with his previous and fixed purpose, executed. He practiced great self-denial. At one time, an associate found him completely prostrated, and yet free, to all appearance, from malady. Only after closest questioning did it come to light that, in order to relieve the mission treasury, Zeisberger was limiting himself to the coarsest fare, and even that not in sufficient quantity. "He would never consent to have his name put down on a salary-list, or become a 'hireling,' as he termed it, saying that, although a salary might be both agreeable and proper for some missionaries, yet in his case it would be the contrary. He had devoted himself to the service of the Lord among the heathen, without any view of a reward other than such as his Lord and Master might deign to bestow upon him." Nearly all the stations in Pennsylvania which have been named, witnessed his zeal; he established the first station in Ohio, and labored successfully at all those which have been mentioned in that State, as well as, following his beloved flock to Michigan and to Canada, still devoting himself to their interests. Every-

where men recognized him as a leader. These journeys were attended with the greatest hardships. At that period, the forests were almost trackless; dense underwood often entangled the traveler; not unfrequently would he find himself sinking in a treacherous morass. No well-graded turnpike then traversed the Alleghany and Laurel Hill Mountains; bridle-paths were, for the most part, all that could be expected — an expectation but partially fulfilled in the gloomy and tremendous wilderness. The explorations made by Zeisberger, the perils and privations he endured, were far greater than those of Eliot and the Mayhews. Extreme danger was sometimes encountered. Now a surly trader, with a war-club, strikes him to the ground, stamps on him, and beats him with a firebrand; now a gigantic rattlesnake might be felt striking our missionary's limb, or be found coiled beneath the pillow on which his head had rested during the night. In the course of his more than fifty years' journeyings, he passed over hundreds of these reptiles, and yet never received the slightest injury from them. Substantially the same was true of all the other Moravian missionaries among the Indians. Once, as was the case with Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, the preservation of his life from assassins in ambush was due to his having unintentionally taken a wrong path. Only by a kind Providence is he saved from the Indian massacre at Gnadenhütten, as well as from the

hand of the haughty half-king of the Wyandots in the Valley of the Muskingum; by the same Providence he is rescued from Indians headed by the infamous Simon Girty, and again from the tomahawk of a fierce savage at the very instant it was falling upon his naked head. His trust was in no arm of flesh.[1] If without medicine or provisions when sickness overtook him in the wilderness, he did not repine. He made the primitive forests of Western Pennsylvania and of Eastern Ohio ring with hymns of praise. Usually full of forbearance and kindness, gentle and conciliatory in his address, he knew how occasionally to administer deserved stern rebuke. Listen to him at Goschgoschünk, a village of low, treacherous Monseys, where Satan's seat is, and where Wangomen, a blasphemous preacher of heathenism, sways a villanous crowd. The missionary's life is completely in their hands; yet he fearlessly confronts the subtle agent of mischief: "Did I not tell you, some days ago, that there is only one way of salvation, and the Saviour that way? All men, whether white or black or brown, must come to him if they would be saved, must feel that they are sinners and seek forgiveness of him. Now,

[1] "I make no pretensions," he said, "to false heroism, but am by nature as timid as a dove. My trust is altogether in God. Never yet has he put me to shame, but always granted me the courage and comfort I need."

what kind of a god is your god? By what attributes do you recognize him?" Wangomen was silent. "If you cannot tell me," continued Zeisberger, "I will tell you. The Devil is your god. You preach the Devil to the Indians; you are the servant of the Devil, who is the father of lies; and, being the servant of the Devil, the father of lies, you preach lies and deceive the Indians." The false prophet is confounded. The herald of truth then tenderly adds: "There is yet time; the Saviour grants you grace. If you will turn to him, you may yet obtain salvation. But beware! Delay not! Hasten to save your poor soul!"[1] See him in the Valley of the Tuscarawas, Ohio. Wyandots are shooting down the domestic animals. Plunder of the mission-house and destruction of the place have been determined upon by the savages. Zeisberger orders the chapel bell rung as for usual morning service. The Delaware converts assemble, and sing a hymn in their own language. In the course of his address which follows, the self-possessed, heroic missionary says: "My brethren, our present situation, in some respects, is indeed unparalleled. We are surrounded by a body of heathen; by enemies to the glorious gospel; by those who threaten to take our lives if we do not go with them and make them our near neighbors. Nevertheless we trust in the Lord and

[1] *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 334.

submit to our fate. He will not forsake us. We will quietly await whatever he permits. We will not defend our lives by force of arms; for that would be putting ourselves on a level with the heathen, and we are the children of God. Neither will we hate our enemies. They know not what they do. We are Christians, and will therefore rather pray for them, that the Lord God may open their eyes and turn their hearts, that they may repent and be saved. Perhaps we may yet see some of those who are here now, seeking Christ and joining his holy church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail."[1]

Zeisberger performed services not unimportant in behalf of his adopted country. Not only did he act as Government interpreter at the General Congress held with the Indian tribes in 1761,[2] but, in 1776, he secured the neutrality of the Delawares; and at Fort Pitt he was instrumental in preventing an Indian war (1769). The value of this service was acknowledged by several of the American generals.[3]

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[1] *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 502

[2] At Easton, Pennsylvania.

[3] Generals Broadhead, Hand, Irvine and Neville — by one of them, General Richard Butler, in these terms: "Had the chiefs of the Delaware nation, together with the Christian Indians, pursued a different course than that which they adopted, all joined the enemy and taken up the hatchet against the American people, it would have cost the United States much blood

In early life, Zeisberger became fairly proficient in the Latin language; and besides his vernacular, the German, he was acquainted with the Dutch, and was at home in the English; he spoke the Delaware fluently; had mastered the Mohawk, and could use several dialects of the Iroquois tribes. His literary labors were far from unimportant — labors which surpassed those of any other man in the last century toward the development of the Delaware language and the Onondaga dialect of the Iroquois. Among those in the former tongue which were printed are, *A Delaware and English Spelling-Book;*[1] *A Collection of Hymns*, being translations from the German;[2] *Sermons to Children;*[3] *A Treatise*, by Bishop Spangenberg, translated (1803); and *The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*[4] In the library of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, may be seen the manu-

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and treasure to have withstood them and checked their progress, besides weakening our already feeble armies on the seaboard by draining them of troops for the Western service, and this might have proved fatal to the cause."

[1] With an Appendix containing a Church Litany, the Ten Commandments, etc., 1777. Second edition, 1806.

[2] With Litanies, 1803. Second edition, 1847.

[3] Seventeen in number, 1803.

[4] 1821, in the words of Scripture, as arranged by the Rev Samuel Lieberkühn, M.A. There is also a *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer.* It appeared in Vater's *Analeckten der Sprachkunde*, Leipzig, 1821.

scripts, besides other philological aids, such as grammars and vocabularies, Zeisberger's *Lexicon of the German and Onondaga Languages*, which fills seven volumes; while in the library of Harvard College may be seen a trunk, provided by the late Hon. Edward Everett, containing fourteen manuscripts, handsomely bound, also at his expense.[1]

It was at Goshen, on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, in Ohio, the last Indian town founded by Zeisberger, that this apostolic man spent his later years. In the midst of great pain he said: "The Saviour is near. Perhaps he will soon call and take me home." During his last sickness, it was soothing to him, as Indian converts, grouped round his bed, sung in their native Delaware from his hymn-book. On the 17th of November, 1808, the chapel bell was tolled; the adult Indians of the place gathered at his couch, sung of the Redeemer and of heaven, till the venerated patriarch fell asleep

[1] George Fabricius, a University alumnus, who was killed in an Indian massacre (1775), translated several parts of the Scriptures into the Delaware language; Schmick translated the history of our Lord's sufferings into Mohegan, as well as litanies and certain hymns, and short accounts of other Moravian missions; and Pyrlæus translated German hymns into the Mohegan, the beginning of a collection for use in divine worship. Philological contributions from his pen, still unpublished, are deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia.

in Jesus; and then they sobbed aloud. He had reached his eighty-eighth year,[1] and had seen sixty-two years of missionary labor. No white man ever preached the gospel among Indians for so long a time, or under trials and discouragements so great. During the last twoscore years of his life, he was never absent from his flock for any length of time, and visited friends in the Middle States only twice. Estimating a missionary by the courage, skill, devotedness and perseverance which he shows, and by the privation which he endures, David Zeisberger's name is entitled to a place among those who head the long roll of evangelical worthies. Is it creditable to the intelligence of religious communities in America that no more is known regarding him?

[1] There were other instances of longevity among Moravian missionaries to the Indians, as John Peter Kluge, who died in his eighty-first year (1849); John George Jungmann and Adam Grube, who died the same year as Zeisberger, respectively eighty-one and ninety-two.

LECTURE VIII.

NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS.

CONCLUDED.

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Moravian labors among the North-American Indians were not an isolated enterprise of enthusiastic individuals. However slightly appreciated by the English colonists of that day, this movement filled a large place in the hearts and prayers of a little community in Central Europe. Bishops resident in this country, as Hehl, Ettwein and Seidel, gave much attention to missionary work. Able men came over as visitors, partly or wholly in the interest of this work — Nitschmann, a native of the same place as Zeisberger, and the first Bishop of the Renewed Moravian Church; Cammerhoff, an alumnus of the University of Jena, well acquainted with the church fathers and with the history of philosophy; Böhler, who studied at the Universities of Jena and Leipzig, who crossed the Atlantic seven times, and to whom instrumentally John Wesley owed his conversion; Loskiel, author of a history of these missionary labors; and Spangenberg, who had been a professor at Halle, well known as an author, a scholar, a man of wisdom, and a

man of affairs. Other personages of note also crossed the Atlantic for a similar purpose — the Baron John von Watteville, a graduate at Jena, who visited stations in the Indian country, was adopted among the Iroquois, and, on his second visit to America (1784), remained three years; as well as Count Zinzendorf — accompanied by his daughter, the Countess Benigna, and by Anna Nitschmann — who made several tours, attended with much fatigue and hardship, among the native tribes, to whom he preached through an interpreter. In their third journey of this kind they were out forty-nine days, camping under the open heavens, in a savage wilderness. At Shekomeko, the Count assisted in forming the earliest Moravian church composed of converted Indians (1742). It is believed that he was the first white man who ever entered the Wyoming Valley.

What the United Brethren effected in the way of civilization among aboriginal tribes was by no means inconsiderable. Statements relating to the introduction of a literature into vernacular tongues have already been made. To reduce a language to writing always implies, among Protestant missions, and not least among Moravian missions, the establishment of schools. Such was the case everywhere, so far as practicable. At New Salem, Northern Ohio, for instance, Zeisberger opened three, in which he himself gave

daily instruction to a hundred pupils, some of them adults who were desirous of learning to read and write. Christian towns were laid out with regularity and neatness; and, though hunting was not wholly abandoned, the raising of grain, cattle and poultry enlisted the interest of converts largely. Under the lead of the missionary just named, thirteen villages sprang up, where tokens of a condition greatly improved upon the wild native state soon showed themselves. The purchaser of their improvements at New Gnadenhütten in Michigan, for which four hundred dollars were paid, declared that the Christian Indians had effected more in three years than the French settlers had in twenty.[1] When, at an earlier date (1781), they had been compelled to abandon Salem in the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio, they left behind rich plantations, with five thousand bushels of unharvested corn, hundreds of young cattle, gardens stocked with vegetables, and all their implements of industry. In each of the three settlements thus left was a commodious house for worship. The chapel at Schönbrunn could receive five hundred persons, and still was often too small to accommodate all who wished to worship there (1775). The religious prosperity of that place particularly became known throughout the Northwest,

[1] *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 589.

and was the wonder of traders and other white visitors. That, it is true, was one of the palmy periods.

Seasons of marked spiritual interest occurred. Considering the thoroughly savage state of the Indians, their characteristic reserve and stoical habits, it is specially a matter of surprise that revivals should take place among them. Soon after the settlement had been begun at Machiwihilusing (1765), Zeisberger writes: "For several months a great revival has been prevailing among the wild Indians who visit here. All those who attend our services are deeply impressed, and cannot hear too much of the Saviour. It often happens, while I preach, that the power of the gospel takes such hold of them that they tremble with emotion and shake with fear, until consciousness is nearly gone, and they seem to be on the point of fainting."[1] Strange phenomenon, indeed, was it to see these wild men of the woods weeping under the influence of divine truth. They came from far and near; and, as on the day of Pentecost different nationalities were represented, so Mohawks, Cayugas, Senecas, Nanticokes and Wampanoags now "heard the wonderful works of God." Afterwards, our missionary acquired such influence over the Monseys, at their town, Friedensstadt, beyond the

[1] *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 313.

Alleghanies, that he was naturalized among them, and allowed to preach the gospel with great freedom (1770). An awakening occurred; meetings for inquiry were held every evening, sometimes continuing till midnight; and conversions took place, children also being wrought upon. Two years later, similar interest was manifested at the Delaware capital. Four years go by, and a season of general interest begins among the children in the Tuscarawas Valley (1776). After a decade or more, New Salem, on the shore of Lake Erie, was the scene of a pervading revival (1788). Delawares, Chippewas, Ottawas, and a sprinkling of Wyandots, crowd to church. Yet another decade goes over them, and a special visitation of grace is experienced by Zeisberger's colony, their settlement then being at Fairfield, Canada (1797). Profound seriousness prevailed; there were deep searchings of heart, accompanied by confession and manifest penitence.

Advance in mission work, whatever the method and whatever the field, is to be estimated partly by the character of native helpers who are raised up. Did the United Brethren witness any encouraging development of the aboriginal capacity in this direction? That question has already received answer in part by the case of Tschoop, one of the two earliest converts, whose transformation is hardly surpassed by any other in the whole range of mission history. Contem-

porary with him was Nicodemus, a man of distinguished character, and his conversion a miracle of grace.[1] As a heathen, he was exceeded by none in evil practices, and was much given to drunkenness. From a turbulent spirit, he became patient and lowly; in his walk and conversation an example to all, so that whoever knew him before, beheld him now with amazement. By degrees he became much enlightened in the truths of the gospel, and was appointed Elder of the congregation at Gnadenhütten, in which office he was universally respected. Once, while looking at the mill, he addressed the missionary: "Brother, I discover something that rejoices my heart. I have seen the great wheel and many little ones; every one was in motion and seemed all alive; but suddenly all stopped, and the mill was as if dead. I then thought, surely all depends upon one wheel; if the water runs upon that, everything else is alive; but, when that ceases to flow, all appears dead. Just so it is with my heart; it is dead as the wheel; but, as soon as Jesus' blood flows upon it, it gets life, and sets everything in motion, and, the whole man being governed by it, it becomes evident that there is life throughout. But, when the heart is removed from the crucified Jesus, it dies gradually, and at length all life ceases."[2] That

[1] Baptized 1742.

[2] *Moravian Missions to North-American Indians*, 104.

was by no means a solitary instance. Valuable men from among the Delawares also came forward, who preached with boldness. Such was Anthony.[1] An orator by nature, he gave testimony for years in a consistent life. Zeisberger says: "Anthony was as eager to bring souls to Christ as a hunter's hound is eager to chase the deer." Take a single specimen. Glikkikan — a warrior who has won fame in many a battle among the Indians, and in the contest between the French and the English, whose reputation as a speaker is unsurpassed, who has silenced the Jesuits in an encounter with them — comes to the mission-house at Lawunakhannek, on the Alleghany River, and for the express purpose of vanquishing the Christian teacher in argument. Anthony opens: "My friends, hear me; I will tell you a great thing. God made the heavens, the earth, and all things that are in them; nothing exists which God has not made." After pausing a little, he continues: "God has created us; but who of us knows his Creator? Not one! I tell you the truth, not one! For we have fallen away from God; we are polluted creatures; our minds are darkened by sin." Here he sits down, and, after the Indian manner, is silent a long time. Suddenly rising, he exclaims: "That God, who made all things and created us, came into the

[1] Baptized 1750; died 1773, in his seventy-seventh year

world in the form and fashion of a man. Why did he thus come into the world? Think of this!" After a while he resumes: "I will show you. God became a man, and took upon him flesh and blood, in order that, as man, he might reconcile the world unto himself. By his bitter death on the cross, he procured for us life and eternal salvation, redeeming us from sin, from death, and from the power of the Devil." Glikkikan had nothing to say in the way of controversy, but urged his people to go and hear the gospel.[1] He soon avowed the purpose of embracing Christianity himself; counting the cost, he took the step deliberately, became an efficient coadjutor of the mission, and finally perished in the massacre of Christian Indians at Gnadenhütten.

Other chiefs of note came under the saving power of truth. Among those was Shikellimy (died 1748), an Iroquois sachem, father of the celebrated Logan; Echpalawchund, a noted Delaware chief, whose conversion caused a great outburst of anger in his tribe (died 1774); and Netawatwes (died 1776), head sachem of the Delawares. But for the great change in him, his people, in common with the other tribes, would no doubt have lifted the hatchet against the neighboring colonists, and have fearfully en-

[1] *Life of Zeisberger*, 356.

hanced the losses and sufferings of white settlers. Another in that list was Gelelemend,[1] a grandson of Netawatwes, who came to the headship of the nation and remained faithful to the Americans. Nor was it the youthful and middle-aged alone who embraced Christianity. Keposh, who had been head chief of the Delaware nation, received baptism when near eighty; and the grandfather of a chief called George Rex was admitted to the church at one hundred years of age.

"Priests too were obedient to the faith." About the middle of the last century there arose, especially among the Delaware Indians, a class of men claiming to be prophets, who, like Mohammed and Swedenborg, pretended to be translated at times to heaven, and to have immediate revelations from the Great Spirit. It was manifestly a device to counteract the influence of Christianity, from which some ideas were borrowed, in order to supersede it. The magicians would fain "do so with their enchantments." At first they taught a morality superior to that prevailing among their people, but soon failed in practice themselves. They anticipated the Mormonism of our days, alleging that on their part polygamy was a work of mercy, because union with such eminent friends of the Great Spirit as they were would contribute to the salvation of women. Another dogma taught

[1] Baptized 1788; died 1811, aged seventy-four.

by these Manicheans of the woods was, that, in order to be saved, one must beat out his sins with twelve rods of as many different kinds of wood, beginning at the feet and working upward, till all iniquities issued suddenly from the neck; or else one must completely expel sins by twelve various emetics. It is as suggestive as it is ludicrous to find what a hold this absurd asceticism gained upon rude minds, and how many savages set themselves to attain sanctification by switches, sinless perfection by exhaustive vomiting. Among the leaders of that pestilent sect was one Papunhank;[1] but, when Zeisberger preached three days in succession to this Simon Magus of Machiwihilusing and his followers, they were deeply wrought upon. Turning to him, the missionary exclaimed, "Brother, what have you to say to this people?" "Nothing," was his answer, "except that they shall listen to their new teachers." Papunhank became a new man; his penitence was profound, his distress of mind waxing so great that he could neither eat nor sleep. When the time for baptism came (June 17, 1763), in the presence of his former deluded followers, he uttered this voluntary confession: "The Saviour has made me feel my misery and utterly depraved state. I used to preach to you. I imagined myself a good man; I did not know that I was the greatest sinner among you

[1] Died 1775.

all. Brothers, forgive and forget everything I have said and done." He was afterwards a faithful assistant of the mission.

As is the case, no doubt, wherever evangelistic work continues for a length of time, some are savingly reached by the truth who never come to be known to the missionary; so it has been, we may well suppose, among the red men for whom Moravians labored. Some also, as in older Christian countries, without becoming church-members, become comparatively valuable members of the community. Such notably was Paxnous, a Shawanese chief (whose wife confessed Christ), who remained faithful to the colonies; and White Eyes, a Delaware captain, whose ability as a man, good will to the mission, and fidelity to the colonists, caused his death to be deeply deplored (1778).

But there were so many men in the last and the previous century, to say nothing of the present day, who accounted the Indian hardly a human being, who practically denied that he was capable of salvation or was worth saving, that it may be well to glance at the red man's experiences when gospel truth came to bear upon him. Did his heart and life indicate a share in our common humanity and in the great salvation? Torpid as were their sensibilities and conscience, yet the felt sense of guiltiness could move them when nothing else would. "Brethren," said an aged chief at Gnadenhütten, "we are altogether buried

in sin; have patience with us; in the course of a year or two, a change may take place. We are like colts in training. Your words please us much. We feel something in our hearts, and, though we do not comprehend it all, we shall understand it by degrees, but our motions are slow." One haughty war-captain, after attending church and listening to a discourse on the heinousness of sin and the grace of Jesus Christ, went through the village to his hut sobbing aloud in the presence of his associates. Said another Indian: "Whenever I saw a man shed tears, I used to doubt his being a man. I would not have wept if my enemies had even cut the flesh from my bones, so hard was my heart at that time; that I now weep is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart."

Was the conviction such as led to a reformed life? The chief of the Cayugas told Zeisberger that he had seen many Indians baptized by the French in Canada, but never found the least difference between them and the unbaptized. With some exceptions, that could not be said of those who had received the ordinance at the hands of Moravian missionaries. The appointment of overseers of morals, and the rules adopted by converts, are suggestive. Take a selection from them: "We will know of no other God, nor worship any other, but him who has created us and redeemed us with his most precious blood." "We will rest from all

labor on Sundays, and attend the usual meetings on that day for divine service." "We will honor father and mother, and support them in age and distress." "We will renounce all juggleries, lies, and deceits of Satan." "We will not permit any rum or spirituous liquors to be bought in our town. If strangers or traders happen to bring any, the helpers (national assistants) are to take it into their possession, and take care not to deliver it to them until they set off again." "None of the inhabitants shall run into debt with the traders, nor receive goods on commission for traders, without the consent of the national assistants."

When the colony of Christian Indians were in the neighborhood of Detroit (1786), the traders of that place found them strictly honest, and never refused them credit, being sure of punctual payment; and, though some had run heavily in debt, still, before leaving the neighborhood, by strenuous effort, they had discharged every obligation. Years previous to that (1750), so changed were Bishop Cammerhoff's "brown sheep," as he used to call his converts, that the neighboring warriors demanded, "What have you done to our brothers that they are so entirely different from us, and from what they used to be? What is this baptism which has made them turn from our feasts and dances, and shun all our ways?"

How did these men, so lately men of blood, men of unbridled revenge, stand the test of re-

proaches and injuries, one of the severer tests of professing Christians, whatever their complexion, and whatever the place they hold in the scale of civilization? On a brave warrior's receiving baptism, his indignant chief denounced him: "And have you gone to the Christian teachers, from our very council? What do you want of them? Do you hope to get a white skin? Not so much as one of your feet will turn white; how, then, can your whole skin be changed? Were you not a brave man? Were you not an honorable councilor? Did you not sit at my side in this house, with a blanket before you, and a pile of wampum belts on it, and help me direct the affairs of our nation? And now you despise all this. You think you have found something better. Wait! in good time you will discover how miserably you have been deceived." Glikkikan answered: "You are right; I have joined the Brethren. Where they go I will go; where they lodge I will lodge. Nothing shall separate me from them. Their people shall be my people, and their God my God."[1] The same man, when seized by enraged savages, said to them: "There was a time when I never would have yielded myself prisoner to any man; but that was when I lived in heathenish darkness and knew not God. Now I am converted to him, I

[1] *Life of Zeisberger*, 362.

suffer willingly for Christ's sake." So saying, he allowed himself to be bound and led away amidst fearful scalping-whoops. Instances might be given of fervent prayer for enemies. A spirit of special and more general supplication was witnessed. It is an interesting circumstance that, even in the earliest Moravian labors at Shekomeko (1743), daily meetings were held and a monthly prayer-day established, when accounts of mission progress in different parts of the world were communicated, and petitions offered in behalf of all men — occasions that were peculiarly enjoyed by the Indians. Should not devout desires and efforts for the spread of Christian truth be, at the present time, more often looked for as evidence of Christian standing?

Not unfrequently did the baptized natives, and that, too, outside the circle of professional helpers, show commendable firmness and boldness in their new position. "My people," said a Nanticoke chieftain, "have, indeed, taken away my belts and strings of wampum; but they were obliged to leave me that understanding which God has given me; and I may still make use of it, as I please, to do good." At another time, one observed: "That I have lost all my property and am poor, that my cattle are dead, that I must suffer hunger — all this I bear and complain not; but that our enemies are about to deprive us of our teachers, and keep food from our souls —

this I cannot bear; it deeply wounds my heart. They shall, however, see that I will have no communion with them, and will not be enticed back to heathenism."[1] When an associate was trying to dissuade a convert from saying anything about his new religion, lest it might cost his life, he replied: "If my life is in danger, I will the more cheerfully witness of the truth. Do you imagine that a baptized Indian fears your sorceries as he did when he was a heathen, and that he will hesitate to make known what the Saviour has done for him and for all men? No! While I live, I will not hold my peace, but proclaim salvation. This is the command of God."[2] In the light of such testimony, what shall be thought of the atrocious utterance — "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian?"

Can any one question the genuineness of these evidences that, through the agency of the United Brethren, Christianity took a firm hold of the red man? During the four years of his labor, Bishop Cammerhoff (who died 1751) alone baptized eighty-nine converts. Up to 1772, the catalogue showed a list of seven hundred and twenty persons who had been introduced into the visible church;[3] and the Moravians were

[1] *Life of Zeisberger*, 534.

[2] *Ibid*, 442.

[3] Loskiel, *Geschichte der Mission*, 774.

much more anxious to secure genuine conversions than to swell the number of converts reported.[1] At the close of 1775, there were four hundred and fourteen believing Indians who lived at three neighboring settlements in Ohio alone. Frequent accessions to the church took place, and the members made gratifying progress in religious knowledge and life. Indeed, at that time, Christianity was coming to have a dominant influence among the Delawares. The Grand Council passed an edict not only granting full liberty to the new religion, but recommending its adoption by the whole nation, as well as other enabling and confirmatory edicts. The fickle and apostate Monseys felt the subduing grace of God. Nor was it one of the least striking proofs of what the gospel can effect, that a race of savage hunters were accepting the restraints of civilized life and the demands of regulated industry. There was an encouraging prospect that the entire Delaware people would in a few years become truly Christianized.

If then, it will be asked, such a hope had any reasonable grounds, if the meeting-house and the school-house evinced the zeal and tact of Moravian missionaries wherever they planted them-

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[1] *Dass unsere Missionäre nicht sowohl einen grossen Haufen getauften Heiden, als vielmehr wahrhaftig gläubige Seelen Christo zuführen wollen.* Ibid, 775.

selves, what became of the fruits? What was the issue of all the toils, privations and successes of these Christian philanthropists? An answer is at hand. We have only to keep in mind the character of the red man, and the condition of that period, to find a solution most sad and painfully adequate. The Indian was a sullen, apathetic being, with no government of any kind, domestic or otherwise, and with no laws except those of custom. He was a fierce, overgrown, ungoverned youth; and, by immemorial usage, butchery had been his element. Not the white wampum of peace, but the red wampum of war, was his favorite symbol. He was a brutal savage, sternly vindictive and cruel. "Not one in a thousand has the spirit of a man," says the charitable, heavenly-minded Brainerd. Contact with white men generally led to the imitation of nothing so soon as their vices, and with eminent speed their intemperance. As is the case everywhere among ruder races, ardent spirits fearfully maddened and imbruted the Indian, proving more destructive than their constant wars. Even the better class of white men, with whom they had dealings, were largely blind to their own inconsistencies, and to the demoniacal tyranny of this agent over creatures possessing little power of resistance. When the sachems of the Iroquois Confederacy met Sir William Johnson at Onondaga in 1753, he declaimed with earnestness

against the vice of intemperance; then, at the close of negotiations, distributed rum so freely that the concourse became intoxicated, and Zeisberger and his companion had to flee for their lives.[1] What, then, would naturally be, what in point of fact was, the influence of colonial land-jobbers, traders and hunters, who were so wholly destitute of principle? Debased savages became yet more debased. Between white desperadoes and the victims of their unscrupulous cupidity, mutual distrust was a fixed result. "Oh, certainly," retorted a Shawanese, with telling irony, "Oh, certainly, they are better than we! — wiser in teaching men to get drunk; wiser in overreaching men; wiser in swindling men of their land; wiser in defrauding them of all their possessions." Upon deeds of violence retaliation would ensue, till, in the border-land of frontier life, the sentiment prevailed that an Indian had no more scul than a buffalo, and he was shot with scarcely less compunction than the panther or the bear. Now, what can reasonably be demanded of a mere handful of Germans, however faithful in their endeavors to evangelize such a race, under such circumstances? Shall it be claimed of Christianity that it produce immediately, upon such subjects, those effects for which elsewhere generations are needed?

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[1] *Life of Zeisberger*, 211, 212.

There were yet other considerations peculiarly unfavorable for the moral elevation of the red men. One was the frequent removals to which the settlements of Christian Indians were subject. We have seen how the persecuting legislation of New York drove the missionaries from their field in that colony to Pennsylvania, and that many of their converts followed them; but the French and Indian War gave rise to suspicions and false accusations, which occasioned their being disarmed and taken to Philadelphia, where, with great difficulty, they were shielded from the violence of an armed mob, and where one half of them died. An effort to remove them thence to New York failed, the Governor issuing strict orders that they should not set foot within the colony. Returning to their old home at Nain, in Lehigh County, they were not allowed to remain there, but were sent (1765) to Machiwihilusing, a five weeks' journey through forests, swamps and rivers, women and children being at times famished. They were compelled to migrate successively from the Valley of the Delaware to that of the Susquehanna, from the Susquehanna to the Valley of the Alleghany, thence a hundred miles west from Pittsburg into Ohio (1772). After eight years of industry and of religious prosperity, they are suddenly seized, and as prisoners marched to Sandusky. Thereafter they effect a settlement at New Gna-

denhütten. To another resting-place, where these pilgrims could enjoy only "a night lodge," they gave the name of Pilgerruh; but the peace afforded them at New Salem, in Erie County, was short-lived; and they were compelled to migrate into Canada (1791). Their four years' stay in Michigan was a cruel exile. The erection of chapels for worship, titles to lands, agricultural and other improvements, gave them nowhere any guarantee of permanency. Removals alone could be depended upon. Had all the circumstances attending such changes been favorable, how much of civilization and Christian life could have been effected! What growth or fruitage do we look for in a tree that is often rudely plucked up, and in every instance imperfectly replanted? But their migrations were compulsory; no alluring prospect beyond personal safety, and very seldom even that, drew them from one spot to another. It was an unresisting little community, with its Christian teachers, running the gauntlet between files of Indian and white enemies. The only wonder is that every vestige of improvement was not effaced.

Inter arma silent leges, observes Cicero. The Moravian missionaries and the Christian Delawares found repeatedly that natural and civic rights avail but little under martial law, which is often merely the law of arbitrary violence. It was war, as we have seen, which broke up

the first Moravian settlement and missionary effort in Georgia. For nearly three decades, from 1755 onward, there was no lasting relief — there was only partial and local relief — from the apprehension or actual storm of conflict. The French and Indian War, the Conspiracy of Pontiac, the protracted Pennamite and Yankee broil in the Valley of Wyoming, and the long struggle of our Revolutionary period, all told with amazing effect upon Christian labor. The very day of Braddock's defeat (July 9, 1775) found Zeisberger and Seidel carrying food to the famished red men of Wyoming. The eighth of September the same year was the date of Count Dieskau's defeat near Lake St. George, and of an enthusiastic missionary conference, consisting of four bishops, sixteen missionaries and eighteen female assistants, at Bethlehem, who pledged themselves to pursue their evangelistic labors so long as possible, in spite of wars and rumors of wars.[1] The same hour that Massachusetts soldiers were engaged in battle at Lexington, April nineteenth, David Zeisberger and his assistants were in the mission-house at Schönbrunn, Ohio, examining candidates for church-membership. The Brethren held on, faithful in their work of love, their devotion to the best interests of these men of the woods; but the very fidelity and quiet

[1] *Life of Zeisberger*, 222.

Christian trust of the Moravians were misinterpreted, and they were again accused, as they had been a dozen years before in Eastern New York, and as David Brainerd was at Crossweeksung, of being in secret league with the French.[1] They shared the frequent penalty of peacemakers, the distrust of both sides, in nearly every contest. They espoused the cause of neither; they were non-combatants; their principles and feelings forbade alliance with any party as a war party. In the heat of an armed strife, suspicion was easily inflamed into hatred; the most unfounded rumors took wing; artful letters to their discredit were forged. The frontier position of the Christian Indians, often on the line between hostile forces, made them all the more naturally objects of distrust, and at length of wanton ill-treatment. In the Revolutionary War, British intrigue stirred up savage allies to massacre white colonists, and to root out the doubtful Delawares. Again, in the last war between the United States and Great Britain, upon an unproven rumor, the troops of General Harrison, victorious in the battle of the Thames (1813), plundered and burned the village of Christian

[1] Bishop Spangenberg wrote to Count Zinzendorf in September, 1755: *Das Land is voll Furcht und Schrecken. In der Gemeinde ists Licht. Wir leben dabey aüserlich in guter Ruhe, und werden des Heilandes Nah und Daseyn unveränderlich inne.* Risler, Leben Spangenberg, 313.

Indians at Fairfield, Canada; mission-house and chapel vanished in the flames, and converts fled to the woods.

Neutrals in the neighborhood of belligerents are always exposed to injuries; but it was not alone to such evils as are inevitably incident to war that the mission and Christian Indians were subjected. It was by no means strange that, with the experience of border life — frequent murders and occasional war — there should grow up a feeling of dread and of vindictiveness. When the mere name of Indian would cause the wives of white settlers to turn pale, and children to cling to their mothers' necks, it could hardly fail that many a husband and father should come to think that extermination of the red men was a required condition of safety. Reason ceased to rule, humane feelings withered, terror demoralized, character degenerated, till the Indians, without distinction, were rather commonly pronounced outlaws, and to shoot them was deemed a public service. Some men of religious habits persuaded themselves that the aborigines were only Canaanites and doomed to be cut off; men destitute of religious convictions deemed it an impertinence to be asked to justify their fanatical fear and fanatical hatred. Hence the unoffending became victims of massacre. Hostile Indians led the way in this horrid work. The twenty-fourth of November, 1755, is a dark day in

the calendar of colonial and Moravian history. The defeat of General Braddock, four months previously, had become known far and wide to the savage tribes in league with the French, who now rushed into Pennsylvania, carrying fire and slaughter to the frontier settlements. A mile from Gnadenhütten, on the other side of the Mahony Creek, was a settlement of Christiar Indians with their white teachers. The hour for their evening meal has come. The tramp of men is heard, and one of the mission family rises from the table, opens the door to see who were there, when instantly a terrible war-whoop and discharge of rifles are heard, and Martin Nitschmann falls dead. The firing continues, and his wife soon falls. Four others are at once fatally pierced. A few, escaping by the trap-door into a loft, have some minutes' respite; but the house is soon in flames. Mrs. Sensemann, exclaiming, "Dear Saviour! Just as I expected!" is stifled. Gottlieb Anders, his wife and infant perish also. Two only escape the flames and bullets by leaping from a window at a favorable moment. Fabricius, who attempted the same, is soon tomahawked and scalped. Ten persons perished; Susanna Nitschmann would fain have shared the same fate rather than captivity among brutish Indians at Tioga. The most prejudiced white detractors could not but admit that the massacre and conflagration of that night vindi-

cated Moravians from the aspersion of a secret alliance with the enemy.

Alas that, for such diabolical scenes, aboriginal savages are not alone responsible! An Indian, with his little child, wife, and another woman, who had belonged to the mission village of Wechquetank, on their journey were sleeping in a barn, and depending upon the protection of one Captain Wetterhold and his company, quartered at the same place (1763); but their protectors fell upon them, and murdered them all, though the mother and child kneeled at their feet crying for mercy.[1] An armed mob advanced upon Philadelphia with the avowed purpose of not sparing one in the company of Christian Indians who were lodged there in the neighbor-

[1] The same year, there occurred another massacre of equal wantonness and greater magnitude. On the Conestoga Manor, in the neighborhood of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, were a handful of Indians, twenty in number, half-civilized, poor, and friendly to the English, as their fathers had been. But the Scotch-Irish of Paxton and vicinity conceived that they had a mission to cut off this feeble clan. A band of fifty men fell upon the hamlet, burned every house, and killed every Indian who could be found. Fourteen out of the score, happening to be absent at the hour of this dastardly attack, were, for safe keeping, lodged in Lancaster jail. Hearing of this, the same party, a fortnight later, galloped into town, burst open the prison door, and slaughtered the entire party, women and children included. That little Conestoga settlement was not, it is true, a missionary station; but the occurrence shows the frenzied animosity of the region and the period.

hood for safe keeping. Scarcely had five years gone by when there occurred (1768) a brutal murder of ten inoffensive Indians in Cumberland County, three of them women and three children. But it was reserved for the Valley of the Tuscarawas, in Ohio, to witness the consummate exhibition of cool and cowardly diabolism on the part of white men. This final massacre took place just at the close of our War of the Revolution, months after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The Moravian Indians in Tuscarawas County, by their frontier position, incurred naturally the suspicion of hostile powers on either side. They, however, maintained strict neutrality, their secret friendship being with the American side; nor is there any sufficient evidence that reasonable complaint could be brought against a single member of the community. When white troops of either party passed through their villages, common hospitality was not only right, but was a necessity for their own preservation. Early in March, 1782, a band of mounted volunteer militia, estimated from ninety to a hundred and fifty in number, from the neighborhood of Pittsburg, pushed rapidly to the peaceful settlements. The peaceable and unsuspicious natives were engaged in the usual industries of the season. The first one whom the murderers met, at a little distance from Gnadenhütten, Joseph Schebosh, the son of a white man, fell under their toma-

hawks — yes, the tomahawks of Pennsylvanians — and they took his scalp as a trophy. The entire village was secured. The invaders professed friendship; said they had come to rescue the Christian Indians from their exposed situation; would conduct them to a place of safety, where they should be well provided for; and gave wampum in proof of kind intentions. The party were accordingly welcomed, hospitably entertained, friendly interchanges taking place through an interpreter. Similar assurances were made by a detachment of the militia, at the settlement of Salem. The Indians, thrown completely off their guard — and the more completely because these strangers professed a pious interest in their welfare — placed themselves entirely in the hands of the soldiers, and surrendered their weapons. Suddenly the confiding creatures were all seized, crowded into two houses, and strictly guarded. The fate of these unresisting captives was submitted for decision to the militia, drawn up in line, their commander putting it thus: "Shall the Moravian Indians be taken prisoners to Pittsburg, or put to death? All those in favor of sparing their lives, advance one step and form a second rank." Only sixteen men stepped out of the line, a large majority thus deciding in favor of death! At the same time, it was decided to tomahawk and scalp the entire party, that proofs might be carried back. No protests of

innocence, no appeals to well known friendly services, availed the helpless prisoners. They were allowed till the next day to prepare for execution. Yielding submissively, they began to pray, to exhort and comfort one another, and at length to sing. When morning came, and their eager enemies demanded if they would soon be ready, "We are ready now," was their answer; "we have committed our souls to God, who has given us the assurance that he will receive them." Two and two they were tied together with a rope, dragged to the place of execution, slaughtered and scalped. Fourteen were felled to the floor by one man with a cooper's mallet, which he then passed to an associate ruffian, saying: "My arm fails me! Go on in the same way! I think I have done pretty well!" Five of the slain were respectable assistants, two of whom had been members of David Brainerd's congregation, in New Jersey, before his decease. The men and boys having been thus despatched, women and children were next taken in the same manner to another house. To call it a savage proceeding would reflect upon the red men in their uncivilized state. One of the first among the female victims was Judith, an aged widow. Another was Christiana, who had lived with the Moravians at Bethlehem in her youth, who spoke English and German, and who pleaded with the commander in vain. The tomahawk

and war-club, the spear and scalping-knife, did their work on ninety-six Indians, of whom twenty-seven were women and thirty-four children — twelve of the latter being infants. Two lads only escaped, one of them being stunned and scalped; the other secreting himself unobserved in the cellar of the house where the women suffered, and where the blood streamed through the floor upon him. The militia, having accomplished this butchery, gathered up their plunder, set fire to what they appropriately called the "slaughter-houses," as well as to both villages, and marched away, with the purpose of repeating the same outrage elsewhere.

We have now followed the mission through thirty years or more of forced migrations, of wrongs and privations incident to frontier life; through successive wars and successive massacres. Circumstances more unfavorable could hardly be conceived. All the conditions requisite for defeat seemed to conspire along its path. It was a pilgrim mission, a mission of vicissitudes, a maligned and persecuted mission, with no influential board to whom appeal could be made, and with no governmental arm to interpose a shield. Success is never the test of fidelity. Nothing about this mission is more remarkable than that, under such embarrassments, so much of success was achieved. In the course of forty-seven years (1740–1787) nineteen different stations were founded, though

at no one time were so many occupied. David Zeisberger baptized men who had once lifted the tomahawk to slay him. More than one fierce warrior, like Michael, who could maintain an engagement for six hours, keeping his post undauntedly at a tree which had over a score of musket-balls lodged in it, became a Christian, lived a consistent life, and his end was peace. In spite of the emblems scarified on his face — a snake on one cheek, crossed lances on the other, on the lower jaw a wild-boar's head, and various symbols of savage life — his countenance assumed an expression of serene benignity. In the whole range of martyrology are there many chapters more impressive than that of the massacre at Gnadenhütten? And does the history of Christian missions present us an instance of more intrepid persistence in seeking the welfare of a wronged community amidst perils and calamities, reviled by men calling themselves Christians, yet ignorant of the principles, and incapable of appreciating the motives, of Moravian missionaries?

The frightful massacre at Gnadenhütten was the heaviest blow the work could receive. Extinction seemed to be threatened; decline was inevitable. What people in modern times could more appropriately take up the lamentation of Israel — "They hunt our steps that we cannot go in our streets; our end is near; our days are fulfilled; for our end is come. Our persecutors are

swifter than the eagles of the heaven; they pursued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderness." Yet the Brethren clung to the feeble remnant of converts who escaped the scalping-knife of savage red men and merciless white men. After twelve years, peculiarly unsettled years of wandering, of want and of great trial, the little band of Christian Delawares settled at Fairfield, Canada West (1792), where the English Government secured to them a strip of land on both sides the Thames River, some distance above its embouchure into Lake St. Clair.[1] As before mentioned, the place was destroyed by American troops in 1813; but, two years later, New Fairfield[2] was built on the opposite side of the river, and mission work resumed. After a score of years (1837), a roving impulse seized a part of this settlement, and two thirds of the whole migrated to Westfield, in Kansas, two missionaries accompanying the party. But the usual condition of such wandering Indians has come upon them, and they are dwindling toward extinction.

From 1798 to 1821, an effort was made to reëstablish Christian work, on a tract of land granted by the United States Government, in the Valley of

[1] Down to 1809, the whole number of natives baptized in the mission was between thirteen and fourteen hundred souls. *Heckewelder's Narrative*, 418.

[2] The settlement, four miles from Bothwell, is known as Moravian Town.

the Muskingum. This enterprise, however, in the neighborhood of their earlier Ohio home, did not prove a permanent success; nor did less protracted attempts at Pettquatting, and on the Sandusky; nor yet on the White River, a branch of the Wabash, in Illinois, where a native helper, Joshua, was murdered (1806). The missionaries were compelled to leave. Labor has been carried on in the Cherokee country also. Sixteen years before the American Board commenced their work among that people, United Brethren had established a station at Springplace, Georgia[1] (1801). In 1817, they gave a welcome to our missionaries, and in process of time, along with them and the remainder of that tribe, were forcibly ejected from the State, and conveyed beyond the Mississippi (1838). Two stations, New Springplace and Wood Mount, are still maintained by Moravians in the Cherokee Reservation of the Indian Territory.

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[1] During the Indian wars, Cherokee chiefs, who were hospitably received by Moravians in North Carolina, expressed a desire to have teachers sent to their people, and the evangelizing of that tribe was never wholly lost sight of by the Brethren. In 1801, A. Steiner and G. Byhan began labors at Springplace. The names of Gambold and Smith also appear in the history of the two flourishing stations, Springplace and Ochgalogy, in Northern Georgia.

LECTURE IX.

MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA.

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Of the three older continents, Africa has held the same place that Ham held among the sons of Noah—least known and least esteemed. Among the six continents of modern geography, it has the smallest supply of outlying islands, has no peninsulas, has the most monotonous coast-line, is nowhere penetrated by gulfs and bays. Balanced upon the equator, a nearly equal mass on the one side and on the other, Africa is the most torrid of the continents, there being vast tracts where the soil is like a furnace-bed, and the wind like a furnace-breath. On no other coast-line in the world can there be found a stretch of one thousand and one hundred miles, as from the mouth of the Senegal northward, without a single stream, large or small. Yet Africa has mountains higher than Mont Blanc, whose snow-covered peaks defy the full force of vertical rays poured upon them the year round. Among the great divisions of the globe, this, which is five thousand miles in length, and as many miles in its greatest breadth, is the least subject to hurricanes, and suffers least from subterranean disturbance.

Africa is the continent of contradictions and historical enigmas — utter absence of rain alternating with rains the year round; sterility most intense bordered by vegetation the most crowded and gigantic; here not sustenance enough for a blade of grass; there vines equal to the largest hawsers, and the baobab-tree, sometimes a hundred feet in circumference.[1] It is the peculiar garden of the papyrus and of the date-tree — one among its thousand species of palms — of ferns and of heaths, of which, in South Africa alone, five hundred species have already been registered. It is the favorite abode of the chimpanzee and gorilla, of the jackal and the ichneumon, of the ostrich, the antelope and giraffe, the zebra, the hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, elephant and lion. But a little way from Europe, a peninsula of Asia, it has, in the main, continued isolated, and of small commercial or political importance. Great rivers, the usual highways to interior regions, are here blocked by bars or cataracts and rapids. Across the broad northern plateau stretches a sea of sand, more effectually dissociating the rest of the continent from early seats of civilization than would an ocean of twice the same width. Not till the Arab introduced

[1] "The writer has the measurement of one, of which the trunk alone was upwards of one hundred and fifty feet in circumference, giving an average diameter of fifty feet, though not perfectly round." *Silver's Handbook to South Africa*, 161.

his "ship of the desert" could the Sahara be traversed at all. Claudius Ptolemy, the most distinguished of ancient astronomers and geographers, himself born at Alexandria, believed that the southern portion of Asia swept round into connection with his native Africa. Even till within the last four hundred years, the shape of the continent was not known to Europeans. The most ancient historical river of our globe, which had been famous for three thousand years already when America was discovered, did not yield up the secret of its source till men yet living boldly undertook the exploration. The earliest nation known to history had its home on this continent, as also have nations the most recently made known to civilized man.

The opening of Central Africa is the great geographical revelation of our day. Immemorially it had been pronounced a vast sandy plain, destitute of inhabitants, of vegetation and water. We now find that it is fertile and populous to a high degree; that its lake-system rivals that of North America; while it sends into the Atlantic, by one channel six miles wide, a volume of fresh water three times as great as the Mississippi, making itself felt scores of miles at sea —a river first explored by a countryman of ours, and so late as 1876–1877. The last seventy years have disclosed more in regard to this great continent than the seventeen hundred years that went before.

If the eye finds little in the contour of Africa that is pleasing; if it sees only a huge trunk devoid of limbs, an undeveloped mass, insular and compact—it beholds a division of the globe not less behindhand socially and in its political institutions. We here find the broadest domain of savagery; and we are appalled by the contemplation particularly of one form of human wrong existing on a scale and with accompaniments which are without parallel. This is the continent of slavery, indigenous, universal, remorseless. One half of the native population, outside of British influence, would seem to be in actual or imminent bondage. Here is a vast empire of brute force. Inter-tropical Africa is more especially the domain of violence aiming at enslavement—a condition not, indeed, peculiar to this continent, though peculiar in its character and history. The servitude to which Mohammedans in the Barbary States formerly subjected Christians who came within their grasp was characterized by full horror enough; but there existed the truculent apology of a different race and religion. The Koran had made it a virtue. But Africa is enslaved by Africa and for Africa. For debt, for crimes, and by sorcery, neighbor subjects neighbor. Guerilla war is universal—predatory raids, not to avenge injuries, not for the enlargement of territory, not to secure garnered grain or hoarded gold, but to make booty

of fellow-men. The chief acquaintance which Central Africa for three centuries had with those calling themselves Christians, was in barter for human flesh and blood. A harvest of human hands was reaped for the rest of the world. Portuguese led the way; Spaniards followed; the French were not slow to imitate; and, strangest of all, England outdid all her neighbors. The greater part of the wealth of Bristol and Liverpool, prior to the abolition of the slave-trade, was due to that traffic. It is estimated that, in the course of three centuries, over forty millions of human beings were forced from the shores of this doomed continent into foreign servitude; while thousands upon thousands of lives were sacrificed in securing that atrocious prize. To such foreign trade chiefly is it due that good neighborhood has been made impossible; that all social ties are sundered; that inter-tribal war has become a chronic malady — a scourge more fatal than the simoom. The outside demand has continued relentless. Alliances are formed with native chiefs, who make no conscience of swooping up one of their own hamlets when a raid upon some border tribe has proved a failure. Witness a foray. An armed band comes suddenly upon a settlement. The young and healthy are seized; the aged and sick are left to starve; houses are fired; a chain-gang is formed; iron neck-rings or rough wooden yokes are employed, and a rapid march toward

the rendezvous begun. The bodies of captives are torn with thorns in the jungle, and lacerated with the driver's whip. The more feeble, no longer able to bear up under loss of blood or want of food, fall, and their heads are severed as the easiest way to disengage an encumbrance from the coffle, which must be hurried on. *Homo homini Dæmon.* Such has been the work of fire and sword, whip and chain, for hundreds of years, spreading desolation, and leaving misery behind; while the salable plunder has been packed into stifling dens between decks, and, if not thrown overboard, is, at the end of the voyage, exchanged for civilized doubloons. It is a species of commerce unequaled in barbarity — the most monstrous form of wickedness known in the annals of depravity. To Africa belongs a sad preëminence of wrongs — wrongs more gigantic, more intense, more prolonged, than in any other quarter of the globe.

Nor is it yet a century since united and effective efforts were put forth (1787) for suppressing the exterior slave-trade, and so far abating the interior trade. Portugal, the first to begin, was the last to abandon, the horrid traffic. England, deep in guilt, was earliest in repentance and in fruits meet for repentance. She is the banner nation in this department of philanthropy, declaring the trade to be felony, then piracy. She has made most noble endeavors to remove such a blot on

modern civilization as this diabolical commerce. Under her leadership, other maritime nations have been drawn into coöperative schemes for exterminating the hydra. Yet, notwithstanding costly blockades, exportation from the western coast has not wholly ceased, it is said; along the eastern coast, it is still active. Barth states (1849–1855) that a little to the north of the equator, and east of Guinea, individual natives often own as many as a thousand slaves; and that in one instance slave-hunters slaughtered one hundred and seventy full-grown men before his eyes. Elephants yield costly ivory; vegetable wealth abounds; valuable minerals are not wanting; still human beings have been the staple of commerce. Five pounds of powder will buy a man; a single gun will buy two men. As an illicit trade, its greater risks have only occasioned increased cruelties.

Is there any sanitary agent equal to the demands of the case — anything that can heal what Livingstone calls "this open sore" of centuries, which has made equatorial Africa one vast moribund mass? Christianity removed slavery from Western Europe six centuries ago; it has since banished serfdom alike from Eastern and Western Europe. There is no dark problem of individual or continental evil to which it is not adequate. Bring it to bear; enlist Heaven, and the Dark Continent shall be renovated. The light-bringing, life-giving agency is entering the field; and

around the rim of Africa may be seen, at many points, the feet of them that "bring good tidings of good." They are also beginning their march inland. The demon of slavery, of war, of sorcery, of wanton and superstitious butchery, will yet be driven into outer darkness. Africa once shielded the infant Jesus; our ascended Saviour has not forgotten that continent. The man who relieved the fainting Jesus of his cross was an African; from Cyrene to the Cape of Good Hope, every tribe shall erelong glory in that cross.

According to both German and English geographers, Africa has two hundred millions of inhabitants. The first modern Protestant movement in their behalf was made by Moravians, and at the southern extremity. We at once recur by contrast to the north of the continent, and to the early centuries of the Christian era, when churches were planted along the coast of the Mediterranean, and in Egypt and Abyssinia; when, at one of the ecclesiastical councils, three hundred and seventy-seven ministers were in consultation on religious affairs; and when Africa could boast of names which, from those times to the present, have been famous in church history — a Clemens and Cyprian, an Origen and Tertullian, an Athanasius and Augustine. But beacon-lights thus kindled along the upper border of the Dark Continent were not fed and multiplied; the evangelical spirit waned; evangelistic

movements ceased; the churches failed to give the gospel to interior tribes, and their candlestick was removed out of its place. Promulgation or death is everywhere the alternative. To the shame of early churches, Africa remained heathen; to the shame of modern churches, Mohammedanism has remained undisturbed in its older usurpations, and has been allowed to keep on till the present hour, sweeping unhindered over one half of this great division of our globe. It startles us to learn that the oldest and largest theological school in existence, a Mohammedan institution, is on this same benighted continent, in its most populous city, and within sight of monuments which, for three thousand years, have been the wonder of the world. The Azhar at Cairo has three hundred professors and ten thousand students, representing all nationalities where Islam prevails. The institution has no endowments or scholarships; the professors have no salaries; most of the students are poor; yet here for nearly a thousand years Mohammedan fanaticism has maintained this propaganda.

Christendom, thank God! is beginning to awake. There are now not less than thirty societies engaged in the work of sending the gospel thither. Herrnhut — all honor to the Unitas Fratrum! — took the lead. Although the Dutch had had a foothold at the Cape of Good Hope more than three fourths of a century, they failed to take

the first step toward giving the gospel to Hottentot or Kafir. When Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, pioneers of the Danish Tranquebar Mission, touched at the Cape on their way to India, in 1706, they were surprised to find that Dutch masters did not allow slaves to be baptized; but all that those missionaries could do was to pray God to have mercy on these neglected heathen.[1] The account of their visit to Cape Town, afterwards published, was not without influence in turning the attention of European Christians to the needs of South Africa. Two pious gentlemen, Messrs. Van Alphen and De Bruyn, at Amsterdam, becoming at length affected by such accounts of the Hottentots, to whom should they turn, with any hope of a favorable response, but to that band of pioneers who had already established missions in the West Indies and Greenland? The providence and grace of God had been training a man, humble in rank, unlearned, but full of faith and the Holy Ghost, full of zeal and fortitude, who stood ready for the service. It was George Schmidt. Though he was then only twenty-seven years of age, one part of his education had been a six years' imprisonment, for the truth's sake, in Bohemia, and to the day of death he bore the marks of galling chains. The letter from Amsterdam reached Herrnhut on the

[1] Germann: "Ziegenbalg u. Plütschau," s. 62.

sixth of February; seven days later, Schmidt was on his way to Holland. That was 1736, the year when the first three converts were baptized by Moravian missionaries on St. Thomas, and when Mohegan Indians, under the lead of Sergeant, began to build the town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Clergymen, appointed by the Dutch East India Company to examine Schmidt at Amsterdam, endeavored to dissuade him from his undertaking. "The language of the Hottentots," said they, "is extremely difficult. They have nothing but wild roots to feed upon. What do you think of that?" "With God," he replied, "all things are possible; and, as I have assurance that it is the will of God I should preach the gospel to the Hottentots, so I hope firmly in him that he will carry me through the greatest difficulties." The earnest Moravian was obliged to remain at Amsterdam a whole year, earning his bread as a day-laborer, till a passage to the Cape could be secured. But the man who had graduated, after a six years' course of patient waiting, from the Spielberg, where Silvio Pellico also learned the rigors of Austrian intolerance, could quietly await God's time. On the voyage out, he labored successfully with three godless passengers. He arrived at Cape Town July 9, 1737. How was he received? With scorn and derision. Schmidt established himself on Sergeant's River, fifty miles back in the country; but, being com-

plained of by hostile farmers as too near the company's post, he removed the next spring still farther from Cape Town to the Zondereinde[1]. Gradually the Hottentots gathered round him, one Africo being interpreter. Finding, as had been represented, that their language was peculiarly difficult, he taught them Dutch; and, opening a school for children, he presently had from thirty to fifty pupils. About the same number came at length to attend upon the service which he held; he gained their confidence; their consciences were aroused, and some of them brought to a saving knowledge of the truth. One of these, Willem, lived in the same hut with the missionary, and his testimony was: "If all my countrymen were to forsake the Saviour, yet I would not go away; for with him is life. I know that I am not yet what I ought to be; but I will nevertheless abide with Jesus, and will not cease praying to him till I receive the full power of his precious blood to change my heart."

But who are the Hottentots? To appreciate the work of this lonely Moravian, we must consider what the people were to whom he devoted himself, and what were their surroundings. It even still requires an effort not to associate the negro with Africa in its whole wide extent, that

[1] The Zondereinde, "Without end," a short tributary of the Breede.

limited race, the one which we have hitherto known chiefly as representing the Dark Continent. The pure negro type, however, is almost totally unknown south of the equator. Below that torrid line, comes the great Bantu family, with numerous branches spread over the lower half of the continent. Like an island in the midst of that fluctuating sea of dark-skinned peoples, are the Hottentots, with whom Bushmen also have hitherto usually, though incorrectly, been classed. The name, Hottentots, is said to have been given them by the Dutch, as denoting stammerers, and in derision of the clicks which abound in their language. Their own name is *Koi-Koin*, Men.[1] They have narrow foreheads, low skulls, a tufted matting of hair; and, although their woolly hair is not quite identical with that of the Bantu tribes, it is almost the only characteristic possessed in common with them. They have high cheek-bones and prominent jaws; pointed chin, snub nose; lips not swelling to the same degree as the negro; nor are they so dark as the negro. Hands and feet are even delicate and beautiful, and so small that adults might wear the gloves and shoes of European children ten years of age. They resemble the Papuans of

[1] In older works, *Quaiquæ*. They distinguished themselves from Bushmen, who were regarded by Hottentots and Bantus as hardly human beings.

Fiji. Though not tall, they are not dwarfs.[1] The house, dome-shaped or shaped like a bee-hive, is a low framework of sticks thrust into the earth, bound together, and covered with rush mats. I speak of them as they were on becoming first known to Europeans, when they were neither hunters nor farmers, but herdsmen, who trained cattle largely for the purpose of riding. Like all Africans, they are acquainted with smelting iron and working that metal. Their weapons are the shield, spear, bow and poisoned arrow; their food, chiefly fruits and roots. Men and women eat apart. They can go without food for days; but, in doing so, they lessen the pains of hunger by tightening the famine-girdle, so called, about the person.[2] In mourning they — particularly the women — cut off joints of their fingers. Children, as among the Eskimos, are treated with great indulgence; but in turn parents are not treated with affection or respect. They, as well as the infirm, are left exposed in desert places. The Hottentot is mercurial, fond of music, light-hearted, yet capricious, indolent, and untidy to the last degree.[3] His

[1] The peculiar formation called *steatophyga* is about as common among them, and among Bushmen, as corpulency is among Europeans.

[2] So, in Germany, people on a journey will sometimes buckle tightly around them a girdle, called *Schmachtriemen*, "girdle of emptiness."

[3] The Hottentots might have sat for most of the traits in Salvian's portrait of other Africans: *Inhumani, impuri ebriosi,*

language, abrupt and abounding in consonants, resembles the Shemitic tongues in having a dual, and in having the pronouns suffixed to other words.[1] Its resemblance to the language of ancient Egypt was first pointed out by Dr. Moffat; and it is a curious circumstance that ancient Egyptian sculptures present costumes, utensils and occupations such as may be seen in any native kraal[2] at the opposite end of the continent today. The Bechuanas, a South-African people, have a tradition that the dead should be buried looking to the northeast, whence it is supposed their forefathers came. Indeed, the traditions of several South-African tribes point to that part of the continent as their primeval home.[3] Writers on anthropology sometimes affirm that primitive and savage peoples have no abstract terms, and no word denoting kindliness, for instance; yet

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falsissimi, fraudulentissimi, cupidissimi, perfidissimi et obscenis, libidinum omnium impuritati et blasphemiis addictissimi. Lib. de vero Indicio.

[1] Others deny it the name of speech, as having nothing of sound or articulation that is peculiar to man in it; but resembling, say they, the noise of irritated turkey-cocks, the chattering of magpies, and the hooting of owls. *Kölben: The Cape of Good Hope,* I, 32.

[2] *Kraal* like *corral* of South America, a village of native huts, usually in a circular form, the cattle being thus enclosed at night for protection against wild beasts. The word, it is said, signified originally a glass or coral bead, then a necklace, and then naturally a cincture of huts.

[3] Appendix to Keith Johnstone's *Africa,* 512.

the Koi-Koin have such a term. The dearth of water in the regions chiefly occupied by them necessitates migratory habits and hinders growth. The bearing and feelings of Europeans have to a large extent forced them beyond the limits of Cape Colony; while within the Colony there remain perhaps a hundred thousand, only a small part of whom are unmixed Koi-Koin. They have lost their original language, and now, in some good measure, speak either the Dutch or a Dutch patois; but they acquire foreign languages quite readily. They are exceedingly improvident; and, as among so many other subject and inferior races, the great weakness of the Hottentot lies in his use of intoxicating drinks.

Such were the people among whom earliest missionary labor began a century and a half since. It was the day of small things in that direction throughout the Protestant world. Here was but one man, with no accessories of influence from talent, culture, position, ample funds or numerous friends. Having received authorization by letter from home, our missionary baptized a native, naming him Willem, the first-fruits of his faith and toil, the first-fruits of modern Christianity in Africa. This took place March 31, 1742, in a stream by the way, on their return from Cape Town, after the manner of Philip and the Ethiopian. Others were baptized somewhat later. More than one Hollander in the neighborhood

also became hopefully converted through him. In his loneliness and great disappointment, the good man's courage did not fail him. "Ah, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters," he wrote, "think on me and my poor people! Let the incense of your prayers go up unceasingly to the throne of Majesty on high, that Jesus Christ may crown this work with his grace and compassion. In closing, I must remind you that I stand alone here, without helpers, and that I greatly long for one. Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord! Hallelujah!" But the announcement that Hottentots were being recognized as men, and even as Christians, caused astonishment among the Dutch colonists. To their notions, their neglects, their abuses, this was a silent rebuke not to be tolerated. Pride and self-interest took the alarm. Schmidt was prohibited from baptizing any more natives, and compelled to return to Europe. What a position his — the first, and for six years a solitary, Christian laborer among the millions of heathen Africa, virtually driven away by Protestant Europeans, and not allowed to return to his post!

To comprehend this anomaly, we must glance at the sentiments and proceedings of the Dutch, who then held the Cape. Such a sketch will throw light on the condition of mind in certain parts of Christendom at that day. Two hundred years had gone by, after the discovery of the Cape of

Good Hope, before Hollanders established themselves there (1652). They, like their Portuguese predecessors, foresaw the advantage of such a half-way house for supplying their ships engaged in the lucrative East India trade. The East India Company of Holland established the most despotic regulations and illiberal restrictions. Many of the early colonists were anything but the best material for such an enterprise, the Dutch Government having sent out one hundred men and as many women from the Houses of Industry at Amsterdam. Six years after the planting of this colony, the first cargo of slaves was imported from Guinea; others were brought from the eastern coast and from Madagascar. Thus the servitude of Africans to Europeans was one of the earliest lessons which the new civilization introduced; and only in 1807 did the last importation of slaves take place. A company of French and Piedmontese, chiefly Huguenots, numbering three hundred souls, driven from their country upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were made welcome (1685–88); but they afterwards found that the tyranny of the French monarch was reflected in the petty despots of this colony — one of the strange inconsistencies of a liberty-loving people who had themselves suffered so much from oppression, and who, with heroic energy, had cast off a foreign yoke.

Strongly does the selfish and cruel policy pursued toward native tribes at the Cape contrast

with that of our Pilgrim Fathers, who had landed not long before on our shores, and who, from the outset, kept in mind the welfare of the Indian. Friendly relations with the Hottentot were maintained at first; but, as soon as safety seemed to admit, injustice, and even barbarity, began to be practiced. Before the first year had passed, Van Riebeck, Governor of the Dutch Colony, in his journal, dated December, 1652, says: "The Hottentots came, with thousands of cattle and sheep, close to our fort, but we could not succeed in traffic with them. We feel vexed to see so many fine herds of cattle, and not to be able to buy to any considerable extent. If it had been indeed allowed, we had opportunity enough to deprive them today of ten thousand head; which, however, if we obtain orders to that effect, can be done at any time, and even more conveniently, because they will by that time have greater confidence in us. With one hundred and fifty men, eleven thousand head of black cattle might be obtained without danger of losing one man; and many savages might be taken without resistance, in order to be sent as slaves to India, as they will always come to us unarmed. If no further trade is to be expected with them, what should it matter much to take at once six or eight thousand beasts from them? There is opportunity enough for it, as they are not strong in number, and very timid, and since not more than two

or three men often graze a thousand cattle close to our cannons, who might be easily cut off."[1] The truculent thought, here expressed, afterwards passed into fact.

Suspicion and fear naturally took deep hold of the native mind. The colonists encroached more and more upon their territory; they were driven back, yet not beyond the reach of marauding Europeans, who, as they became stronger, would carry fire and sword into the native villages, with a determination to drive them from the colony, except as the want of herdsmen or of men to till the soil might spare these wretched beings for slavery. But, when reduced to bondage, and brought into contact with people bearing the Christian name, they were not encouraged, often not allowed, to avail themselves of religious privileges. They had usually no place within consecrated walls. Over the doors of one church was posted the notice: "Hottentots and dogs forbidden to enter!"[2]

It is not difficult to understand why men sanctioning such terrorism and sharing in it should become hostile to missionary efforts in behalf of abused Hottentots and Bushmen. Cruelty to natives and opposition to missionary labor were strangely associated with orthodoxy and a punctilious observance of usual religious forms. It was

[1] *The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation*, 3, note.
[2] *Philip's Researches*, I, 58.

something new among them for any one to regard the natives as human beings. They were accustomed to speak of them as "black wares," "black beasts," "black creatures," understanding thereby not creatures of God, but of the Devil. The presence of George Schmidt was an unendurable eyesore. His communications to Holland and to Herrnhut might reveal things that would startle Europeans at home. In point of fact, he had been extremely guarded in this particular. Little pains were required to stir up the strongest prejudice against him, and to make it appear that his work implied peril to colonial interests, as was the case under the English East India Company's sway in India. That work imperiled nothing but the interests of selfishness and inhumanity. So excited and tyrannical did the Colonial Government become as to deprive a parish clerk of his appointment, and order him home, for having been associated with Schmidt. The faithful missionary, whose only offence was that he had preached the gospel to poor heathen,[1] of whom Christian invaders would make merchandise, could never obtain leave to return to South Africa. After a season of evangelistic labor in Silesia, on the confines of Bohemia and Moravia, he supported himself as a day-laborer at Niesky, and finally as a sexton and

[1] His congregation at the time he left numbered forty-seven persons.

grave-digger. Seventy-six years of age, he attended divine service one day (August 1, 1785); worked in his garden the next morning for a while; went to his little room to pray in private, as usual, for South Africa; and at noon was in Paradise. Like Livingstone, he died upon his knees.

Not till after more than fifty years (1792) was the mission renewed. The Presidency of the Board of Directors of the Dutch East India Company was now filled by a gentleman friendly to the Moravians; and so their request for permission to reëstablish a missionary settlement among the Hottentots received a very favorable answer. Three Brethren, Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel, went to the Cape, and, upon recommendation, proceeded to a place eighty miles eastward, called "Bavian's Kloof," Baboon's Glen.[1] It proved to be the very spot where George Schmidt had labored. A part of the walls of his house was still standing. Among the briers of his garden were some fruit-trees, and particularly a noble pear-tree, a fine emblem of spiritual results from seed planted by him during his short stay at the Glen. Its shade now served for five years as both church

[1] Rowley, in *Africa Unveiled*, 270, gives the distance as one hundred and twenty miles, and on the next page states that Genadendal is about eighty miles from Cape Town, not aware, apparently, that these are two names for the same place. The word is properly "Baviaan."

and school-house. "I am thankful and ashamed," said one of those Hottentots who flocked around the missionary Brethren, "that such a great sinner should be thus favored by our Saviour. I remember what my late father used to say, exhorting us children to take notice and follow those people who would come from a distant country, and show us Hottentots a narrow way by which we might escape from the great fire, and find the true God. When the first teachers came to show us that way, the farmers were very angry, and told us that they meant to sell us as slaves. But I remembered my father's words, and would not be prevented from moving to Bavian's Kloof. Now, when I consider what the Lord has done for me, my heart is melted within me." A half-blind woman, Magdalena by name, fourscore years of age, who had received the ordinance of baptism from his hands, came with a Dutch New Testament which he had given her, and which she preserved carefully wrapped in two sheepskins. "Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God; they shall still bring forth fruit in old age." And so from time to time, for years, the new missionaries found evidence that this was a branch of the Lord's planting.[1] Within a twelvemonth after

[1] Sparrman, afterwards a companion of Captain Cook, found natives who had grateful recollections of Schmidt's kindness, and showed the fruits of his teaching, thirty years subsequent to the missionary's retirement from South Africa.

the renewal of the mission, some half a dozen were baptized. "We cannot," the missionaries write, "find words to express the powerful sensation of the grace of God which prevailed on these occasions, and the impression made on those who were present. These days were truly festival days to us. The Hottentots were visibly affected, and declared their earnest desire to be made partakers of the same grace."

Dutch farmers opposed and maligned the missionaries and converts. They would give out that, while God created Christians, Hottentots belonged to the race of baboons; that they were liable to be shot or enslaved. "You stupid creature!" said a farmer's wife to a Hottentot girl who wished to leave her service and go to Bavian's Kloof; "you stupid creature! What! do you think these Moravians would come from such a great distance merely to teach you God's Word? No indeed: they are poor people, and mean to become rich by you; for when you have learned something, they then intend to sell you." The irate colonists reported that the Moravians taught the natives to steal, murder, and commit other enormities; they even went so far as to declare, "If the missionaries come here to convert the Hottentots, they ought immediately to be put to death."

A desire to receive instruction from Christian teachers, however, increased among the Hot-

tentots; but it was seldom an easy thing to obtain that advantage. One of them, whose term of service with a farmer had expired, was on his way to Bavian's Kloof, when the farmer sent three armed men in pursuit, who threatened to shoot him, and forced him to return and serve another year. Sometimes the natives, fearing detention, would not venture to ask for their hard-earned wages, lest they should be prevented from going to the station. Animosity continued with varying forms and degrees of violence. So intense and reckless did the opposition of neighboring farmers become at one time (1795–6) as to culminate in an organization of a hundred men armed for the purpose of murdering the Brethren; but no sooner had they gathered at their place of rendezvous than a message from the British general announced the discovery of their plot, and thus the settlement was saved. Attempts were now made to starve out the missionaries by refusal to send them necessary supplies; but that scheme also failed. During an armed insurrection of Boers, who were determined to obtain redress for their alleged grievances, among the articles of their memorial to Government were the following, which show their animus: "That they would allow no Moravians to live in the country and instruct the Hottentots; for, as there were many Christians in the colony who received no education, it was not proper that the Hottentots should

be made wiser than they, but that they should remain in the same state as before." "All Bosjesmans, or wild Hottentots, caught by us, must remain slaves for life." Persecution received a check, however, during the English Protectorate (1795–1803), and was still further curbed when the Cape of Good Hope was definitely ceded (1815) to Great Britain by the King of Holland.

In the mean time, the settlement at Bavian's Kloof increased despite of violent prejudice and opposition. Missionary reinforcements from Europe were called for; and, only five years after the work had been resumed (1797), a church building was put up capable of accommodating several hundred hearers, there being at that time two hundred and twenty-eight Hottentot dwellings, and eighty-four baptized members of the community. The mission gradually gained upon the confidence of the better part of European residents. Jansen, the Dutch Governor, having raised a corps of Hottentot soldiers, asked to have a Moravian military chaplain appointed; and one of the missionaries, Kohrammer, designated for that purpose, moved to the camp, near Cape Town (1804), where his labors were blessed. After the English captured that place (1806),[1] the

[1] On board one of the ships in the fleet which conveyed British troops to the Cape at this time, was Henry Martyn, bound for India. While Moravian missionaries were engaged in prayer on shore, he was similarly occupied in his cabin, when

Governor showed much friendliness to the Moravian Brethren. The old name of Glen or Den of Baboons (Bavian's Kloof) had been changed to Genadendal,[1] Vale of Grace, which happily indicated the moral transformation there effected. The first English Governor, Lord Caledon, even solicited the Brethren to establish a new settlement on land offered them for that purpose (1808); and the station Groenekloof, Green Glen, was the result. After witnessing the baptism of five Hottentots, a venerable man, a privy councilor, said to one of the missionaries: "Permit me to go into your room, that I may give vent to my feelings." He then exclaimed: "Oh, what real happiness do you, my dear friend, enjoy among your brethren and sisters! May God Almighty continue to bless your labors among the Hottentots with abundant success! Never has my heart felt what it did this day. Happy are those poor Hottentots who have the favor to

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not ministering to the wounded after the capture of the place; and he wrote: "The Blue Mountains to the eastward, which formed the boundary of the prospect, were a cheering contrast to what was immediately before me; for there I conceived my beloved and honored fellow-servants, companions in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, to be passing the days of their pilgrimage far from the world, imparting the truths of the blessed gospel to benighted souls." *Life of Henry Martyn*, 176.

[1] The original and proper orthography is *Gnadenthal*; but *Genadendal* is now universally adopted by English writers.

live with and be instructed by you; for it is indeed true what they sing, 'The Lord hath done great things for us.'"

When the jubilee festival of Genadendal came round in 1842, it appeared that one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one adults, and over two thousand children (2,027), had there received baptism;[1] and, when the corresponding semi-centenary of Mamre,[2] the second settlement that was formed — about forty miles north of Cape Town — took place (1858), seven hundred and seventy-eight adults and over sixteen hundred (1,654) children had shared in the same ordinance.

It is too late to inquire if a people so rude as the Koi-Koin, so near the lowest grade of mankind, can be brought to accept the truths of the gospel; too late to ask whether minds so darkened, whether natures so brutalized for untold generations, will respond to the touch of the Holy Spirit, thus affording additional confirmation to the unity of our race, and to the efficacy of our holy religion. Hottentots, it is found, are susceptible, for instance, to the feeling of guilt. One of them,[3] rehearsing truths which a missionary had stated to her, says: "These words seized

[1] A training-school of native helpers was established in 1838.

[2] Till 1854 called Groenekloof.

[3] Hannah Jonker.

upon my heart like a fever, and I trembled all over. I ran into the fields, hid myself behind the bushes, and cried day and night to God for mercy. All my sins appeared before me in their damning power. When it grew dark, I durst not venture to lie down, for I thought I should die and be lost forever. One morning, I went to one of the missionaries and told him that there was no help for me, for I was a lost sinner. His answer was, 'Do not come to me any more as an orphan that has lost father and mother, but know that you have a Father in heaven who can and will help you.' I took courage and thought, If I have a Father in heaven, I will trust and cleave to him. The Lord appeared for me, and I was helped." "I am sitting in the midst of my sins," one of them replies, "like a man sitting in the fire, and am ready to be choked and consumed by the anguish of my soul; I stretch my arms towards heaven and cry, 'Lord Jesus, give me but one drop of thy grace to quench the fire burning within!'" Do they evince an abiding love to Christ? "True it is," answers a Hottentot, "that I am a poor sinner, but I have lost all taste for the things of this world. When I am at work, I think of the things of our Saviour. If I am in company, I hardly hear what is going forward; for my heart is with him. When I lie down to sleep, I pray to him; and I dream of the meetings in the church. I enjoy at present great happi-

ness. Oh, help me to pray that I may not soon lose it again." "Oh, yes," says another, "he is my highest good; I have nothing beside him in this world. He hears all my complaints, and I can converse more freely with him than with my best friend. Sometimes I could not help praying to and praising him upon the road, with a loud voice, so that the passengers heard me." Is the conflict between flesh and spirit something which they are acquainted with? Listen: A young man, being asked whether he loved our Saviour with his whole heart, replied: "No, not with my whole heart; one half is directed towards him, but the other towards fine clothes, horses, and other objects." Still another declares: "When ever I endeavor in right good earnest to live according to the will of God, it is as if the enemy were particularly busy; and the road to my only Helper and Saviour seems, as it were, laid with huge, rough stones, over which I have to climb, struggling that I may get to him. I then cry aloud to him for help, that I may not fall and be prevented approaching; and he gives me power, through his sufferings and death, to overcome the Evil One."

Notice the working of their heart in view of backsliding, and imperfections not yet overcome. "I cannot speak with you," says a Hottentot woman, "for my heart is like a piece of land over which the torrents have burst, and covered it with sand and rubbish, till the good ground is

no longer visible." One Philip, who had fallen into open sin, became deeply convicted of his wickedness. In a despairing frame of mind, he was admitted to the family worship of a farmer, and heard the parable of the Pharisee and publican read. While the prayer of the Pharisee was read, the poor Hottentot thought within himself, "This is a good man; here is nothing for me;" but when his master came to the prayer of the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner," "this suits me," he cried; "now I know how to pray!" With this prayer he retired, and prayed night and day for two days, and then found peace. Full of joy and gratitude, he went into the fields, and, as he had no one to whom he could speak, he exclaimed: "Ye hills, ye rocks, ye trees, ye rivers! hear what God has done for my soul; he has been merciful to me a sinner!" Beautiful instances of resignation, trust in the heavenly Father, and patient, joyous endurance, occur. "God formed our eyes," said a native, sick and suffering from want, "God formed our eyes in such a manner that we cannot see what happens on the other side of yonder hill, and I never heard any one complain of it. Our mind's eye is formed in the same manner, for we cannot look into futurity. Why should we, then, be dissatisfied? No; let us put our trust in Him who sees all things, and He will help us through every difficulty." At Genadendal, a Kafir woman, Rebecca Jochem, though con-

fined to her bed by a painful illness (1848), said to a missionary: "No famished dog can devour its morsel with greater eagerness than I do when I feast from the crumbs that fall from my Saviour's table."

In all older and established Christian communities, there occur certain tests of religious character. Mutual confession and forgiveness of injuries is one. Now, here comes a South-African communicant, acknowledging that there has been a quarrel between her and her husband, but she adds: "Our Saviour has granted us grace to be friends again. We owned and confessed to each other our sins, and, kneeling down, prayed him to take all enmity and bitterness away from us. He heard our prayers, and we now live in peace." A soldier comes forward, confessing that he has committed great sin: "Oh, I have struck my brother, in a fit of anger, and now I feel exceedingly grieved for it." The missionary sends for the aggrieved brother, and asks if he can forgive the offender. "Yes, my dear teacher," he replies, "that will I do with my whole heart;" whereupon he reaches out his hand; and the two brothers embrace and kiss each other, and weep for joy. Gratitude for favors, temporal and spiritual, does not always characterize converts from heathenism. "Oh, how happy are we now," exclaimed a converted Hottentot, in the presence of a missionary; "Oh, how happy are we now, since it has pleased God to send teachers to us

to make us acquainted with his Word, and with the love of our Saviour towards us! We were formerly not permitted to pronounce the name of God in our own language; a lash would immediately follow. 'What!' said my baas, 'you wretch! Do you call upon God? I am your God!' Or else he would say, 'Baboons that you are! you have no God but the Hottentots' God.'"

As soon as the constellation of the Seven Stars appears annually above the horizon, parents wake their children, and, taking them into the fields, point out the beautiful visitor in the heavens; and all the inhabitants of the kraal dance and sing. To this people, which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up, and they leap for joy. When, in 1815, the Rev. Mr. Latrobe, from England, paid an official visit to the mission in South Africa, he was met at various points by Hottentot converts with hymns and other demonstrations of joy, accounting him a representative of the church to which they owed so much. Such testimonies reveal a psychic identity between us and them. They make us forget physical, mental and social differences, and awaken the feeling of brotherhood with Hottentots, and joyful anticipation of meeting such as, like Corinthian converts, are washed, sanctified, justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

LECTURE X.

SOUTH AFRICA.

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THE term "South Africa" has of late come to be a little uncertain in its signification. Occasionally it is used to cover the whole extent of continent south of the equator. In a purely geographical sense, and irrespective of political divisions, it may take in all that lies below the Zambesi, if not indeed including the basin of that river, which basin embraces also one or more of the great lakes. Such a distribution grows out of a threefold partition of Africa into Northern, Central or Equatorial, and Southern. We may define the upper limit of this southern portion by a line from Walvisch Bay on the Atlantic across to the Indian Ocean, below which is an area equal to the United States east of the Mississippi River. Till within a few years, the term "South Africa" was popularly understood as restricted pretty much to the Cape Colony, but has been undergoing enlargement, in the thought of the outside world, since the Colony of Natal was planted, and especially since the British annexation of the Transvaal Republic in 1877 and also of extensive tracts to the west.

Stationing ourselves at Cape Agulhas, the southernmost point of the continent, and considerably below the Cape of Good Hope, we find a bold coast swept by rapid currents and confronting a stormy sea. Looking landward, we see a coast-belt sloping in a series of terraces up to the truncated summit of a mountain-range that runs nearly parallel with the sea, and that, sweeping round to the right and to the left, stretches northward like a rampart facing two oceans, the Indian and the Atlantic. Journeying toward the interior from any point, we find another mountain-range considerably higher, which is the border of the vast continental table-land, and which has elevations of eight thousand and ten thousand feet. None of the rivers are navigable; most of them, especially in the western section, are torrents in the rainy season, which sometimes rise twenty and thirty feet in a few hours, but have dry beds the rest of the year, like the wadys of Northern Africa and of Western Asia. Owing to evaporation in the desert tracts through which it flows, the Orange, or Great Garib, is larger hundreds of miles from the sea than at its mouth, and it drains rather than irrigates the country. South Africa has no lakes. In general, the climate is delightful and healthful; its atmosphere very dry, clear and brilliant, is favorable to those having pulmonary weakness; and this is one of the few inhabited portions of our world which

have never known the scourge of cholera or yellow fever. Indeed, it is one of the most salubrious regions on the face of the earth.

South Africa has, on the whole, a rich and varied flora, differing from the rest of the continent, and from all other countries except Australia and Chili. Its bulbs and its orchids are famous, its grasses numberless and elegant. The Constantia grape has the reputation of being unsurpassed; and historically it is interesting as a memento of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; for upon that event Protestant exiles from France brought with them slips of vines, and a flourishing grape-culture was the result. Nor is mineral wealth wanting. In Namaqualand are copper-mines accounted among the richest known. In the Transvaal, valuable gold-mines have been found;[1] while the Griqua country in the fork of the Vaal and Orange Rivers, and on the confines of the Great Sahara of the South, disclosed (1867) one of the few diamond-yielding regions that are known to man. Where previously there was only a handful of natives, sixty thousand Europeans were soon congregated. The dry diggings seem to be strown with precious stones; between fifty and a hundred millions'

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[1] 1872–73, Baines, Thomas: *The Gold Regions of Southeastern Africa.* London and Cape Colony, 1877. Boyle, Frederick: *To the Cape for Diamonds.* London, 1873.

worth of jewels have been found, and among them one, the "Star of South Africa," valued, even before its cutting, at fifty-six thousand dollars.

Here is the sportsman's paradise.[1] Nowhere else has there existed game in such quantities, nor of such grades as to size, from the pigmy antelope six inches in length to the giraffe seventeen feet high; also as to weight, from the black-streaked mouse weighing the fourth of an ounce to the elephant weighing four thousand pounds. Less than forty species of antelopes are known to natural history, and of these about thirty are found here. The springbok has sometimes been met with in herds of four or five thousand. The hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, the quagga, the zebra, the lion and the leopard abounded formerly as in no other country. The advance of civilized man is gradually driving these larger animals

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[1] Cumming, R. Gordon: *Ten Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa.* 2 vols. New York, 1850.

Baldwin, William C.: *African Hunting, from Natal to the Zambesi.* New York, 1863.

Hamilton, Charles: *Sketches of Life and Sport in Southeastern Africa.* London, 1870.

Chapman, James: *Travels in the Interior of South Africa.* 2 vols. London, 1868.

Gilmore, Parker: *The Great Thirst-Land.* Second edition. London.

Sandeman, E. F.: *Eight Months in an Ox-Waggon.* London, 1880.

towards the interior; yet a daring Nimrod like Gordon Cumming has even now only to go farther inland, toward Central Africa, to find game and perilous adventure to his heart's content.

Two parallel mountain-ranges have been spoken of. Between those ranges is a tract aggregating twenty thousand square miles, called Karroo, or "dry," because for nine months of the year there is no vegetation. Full one half the surface of Southern Africa is of that description. These Karroo valleys, covered with a yellowish soil, become nearly as hard as brick; but no sooner do rains begin to fall than the desert plains clothe themselves as if by magic with gorgeous flowers, and with herbage which invites the flocks and herds. It is on the terraced table-land by which the outer mountain-chain breaks down toward the seacoast, that groups of missionary stations have been established by Moravians, which, with those of other Christian bodies, are beginning to change the moral aspect of the country. The dews and rains of heaven have begun to descend, and the day is coming when "the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose; it shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing."

Neighboring colonists, in not a few instances, have been much benefited spiritually, and have acknowledged their indebtedness to the Chris-

tian conduct of Hottentot servants as well as Moravian missionaries. The general good behavior of the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) at Genadendal was so marked as to attract the attention of Dutch magistrates, and at length to conquer the confidence and commendation of some of them. One official, Mr. Rheynefeld, testified before the Governor that "the mission at Bavian's Kloof had existed now ten years; that about one thousand Hottentots lived there, and distinguished themselves by their obedience to the missionaries and their orderly conduct, so that he never had any complaints from that quarter. They did not want a justice of the peace, though in other places, wherever three hundred people got together, a justice had enough to do." In 1833, there was a religious awakening among the farmers in the neighborhood of Genadendal, who were glad to sit down beside the once-despised Hottentots, and with them feed upon the same spiritual food. English visitors have paid deserved compliments to the mission. Sir John Barrow says:[1] "On Sundays they all regularly attend the performance of divine service, and it is astonishing how ambitious they are to appear at church neat and clean. Of about three hundred that composed the congregation, about half were dressed in coarse printed cottons, and the other half in the ancient

[1] *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, I, 353.

sheepskin dresses; and it appeared on inquiry that the former were the first who had been brought within the pale of the church—a proof that their external circumstances, at least, had suffered nothing from their change of life." A similar report was afterwards made by Lord C. Somerset (1817) and others. Even Colonel E. E. Napier,[1] Mr. Burchell,[2] and Dr. Lichtenstein,[3] notwithstanding their undisguised dislike or hostility to missionaries in general, speak favorably of this Moravian establishment. The reputation of Genadendal as an inviting spot spread far and wide among the natives. From time to time, Koi-Koin would come long distances to enjoy its privileges —for example (1801), a whole family from the borders of Kafirland, their journey requiring six weeks' time; also a company of twenty-three from a remoter part of the land.

It was in the course of 1823 that, owing to a request from the Government, Hemel-en-Aarde,[4] a

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[1] *Excursions in Southern Africa.* 2 vols.

[2] *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa.*

[3] *Travels in Southern Africa.*

[4] "Sky and Earth," seventy miles east from Cape Town, twelve miles from Caledon, and not far from the sea; removed to Robben Island, 1846; placed in the hands of the English Church, 1867. Mr. W. Moister appears not to be aware of this last arrangement. He says: "A Moravian missionary has also been employed at Robin Island for many years, under the auspices of Government, in ministering to the lepers and other poor sufferers located there." *Africa: Past and Present. London,* 1879.

leper hospital, became a mission station, and much faithful labor was performed there. A less inviting field can hardly be imagined than that refuge of wasting sufferers and mere relics of humanity — deformed, crippled, and loathsome beyond expression. For simple garden operations, one patient would supplement another. A man who had no hands might be seen carrying on his back another who had lost both his feet, but who could drop seeds into the ground with the member which was wanting to his fellow-sufferer. The faith and efforts of Moravians in behalf of these wretched inmates were blessed. "Amongst the poor sufferers in that lazar-house," says one of the Brethren, on paying a visit, "there are many dear souls who rejoice in the Lord their God, and the assurance of a better world, and, relying on their Saviour's merits, watch their diseased tabernacles falling to pieces, in the hope of soon being with him in glory. It makes one shudder to visit the patients in their dwellings, such pitiable objects do they present, and so offensive is the effluvia; yet, when you enter into conversation with them on the concerns of their souls, and find these poor cripples full of faith and joyful confidence in the Saviour's merits, it makes you feel ashamed of your fastidiousness." During the first six years of Superintendent Leitner's connection with the hospital, ninety-four adults were baptized. The institu-

tion had a large space of ground enclosed with a high wall, and only one entrance, which was strictly guarded. The leper who entered that gate might never return. The mistake has been made of supposing that the same was also true of missionaries in charge, and that their entrance upon service was a perpetual renunciation of the outside world. But that is entirely inaccurate. No hindrance existed to their free egress. Attempts have been made more than once by Moravian writers to correct this misapprehension, though without success. The touch of romance involved will probably keep the unfounded statement afloat; so, too, the reputed incident of missionaries selling themselves into slavery on the West India Islands, as the only way of gaining access to Africans in bondage there. The actual heroism and self-denial of Moravians require no fictitious adjuncts.

There is a South-African bird[1] which serves as guide to the natives for finding honey. So, here and there, a stray messenger has indicated even to despised Bushmen where that might be found which is "sweeter than honey and the honeycomb." One of this abject race gave her reason for resorting to Genadendal, thus: "I am come because I know that Bavian's Kloof is an

[1] *Cuculus indicator*, of a light color, and the size of a chaffinch.

asylum for poor, distressed sinners; such a sinner I am. I have lived long in sin, and done much evil; and among the farmers, with whom I am now in service, I have seen and heard nothing else; but now I am tired of the service of sin, and seek rest for my soul." The Bushmen,[1] it need hardly be said, are inferior in condition even to the Koi-Koin. Few races lower on the human scale can be found. They are probably a distinct aboriginal race, though their classification is not yet clearly determined. They and the Hottentots appear to represent the only remnants of the earliest inhabitants of Africa, which have been pushed forward, reduced and nearly crushed by the Bantu family. Their language, including the clicks, differs from that of the Koi-Koin. They have the flat nose, concave visage, and keen eye; their skin is a leathery yellow, greatly wrinkled even in early life. They belong to the pigmy races, wherever their conditions of life are unfriendly, as in bondage to the Boers and Bechuanas, and in wilder and more sterile regions, as on the great Kalihari Desert. Their average stature is four feet and a half; that of the women four feet. They are children of desolation and isolation, the gypsies of the South, having no fixed abode. Filthy habits characterize them.

[1] In Dutch, *Boschjesmen*, "Men of the Bush." One vernacular designation of them is *San*, the plural of *Sab*.

They are skillful in using the arrow and the trap; are crafty and sagacious; have no domestic animals save a half-wild dog. They even possess some artistic skill. From the Cape of Good Hope to the Orange River, may be seen, in caves and on cliffs, figures of men and animals, sketched with a firm hand in red, brown, white and black colors — sketches truer to nature than many which are to be seen on Egyptian monuments. When absent from their caves for a night, the Bushmen cover themselves with sand, or make a shelter of branches and brushwood in a thicket. Not unfrequently they are compelled to feed on ants' eggs, locusts and snakes; and in general theirs is a condition of physical misery more extreme than we can easily conceive. They have no civil organization, no chiefs, but are the Pariahs of Southern Africa, the common enemy of neighboring tribes; and only where the Hottentot, the Kafir, and the European cannot subsist, are they allowed to maintain a dreary abode. Like the Hottentots, they have neither temple nor altar, nor scarcely any vestige of religion. The Dutch farmers, formerly at least, were accustomed to regard them, as some in our country have regarded Indians, in the light of Canaanites, to be exterminated when they could not profitably be reduced to slavery. One Boer boasted that he had taken part in struggles which cost over two thousand seven hundred Bushmen their

lives; and another, that in six years he had caught and killed three thousand and two hundred of them.

A century after the Dutch had landed, the system of "commandoes" began (1754). And what is a commando? An armed raid, composed of Boers,[1] sometimes seconded by troops of the line, under order from a provincial magistrate to scour the country. The usual method was to come upon the natives by night, or early in the morning, and slaughter them indiscriminately. The chief inducement for the Boers to engage in these abominable forays was the prospect of capturing women and children for their service. To cite a few instances: One commando (1774), under Van Wyk, in the course of eight days, shot ninety-six Bushmen, the women and children being captured and distributed as slaves among the Boers; another, under Van der Mieroe, murdered one hundred and forty-two of the poor creatures; yet another, after destroying the males, took one hundred and eighteen women captive. "I still shudder," says Thomas Pringle,[2] "when I think of one of the first scenes of the kind which I was obliged to witness in my youth, when I commenced my burgher service. It was upon

[1] *Boer*, Dutch farmer or peasant, like the German *Bauer*, though not, like the English *boor*, conveying necessarily the idea of rudeness.

[2] *Residence in South Africa* 78.

a commando under Carl Kortz. We had surprised and destroyed a considerable kraal of Bosjesmen. When the firing ceased, five women were still found living. The lives of these, after a long discussion, it was ordered to spare, because one farmer wanted a servant for this purpose, and another for that. The unfortunate wretches were ordered to march in front of the commando; but it was soon found that they impeded our progress, not being able to proceed fast enough. They were therefore ordered to be shot. The scene which ensued often haunts me up to the present hour. The helpless victims, seeing what was intended, sprang to us, and clung so firmly to some of the party that it was for some time impossible to shoot them without hazarding the lives of those they held fast. Four of them were at length despatched, but the fifth could by no means be torn from one of our comrades, whom she had grasped in her agony; and his entreaties to be allowed to take the woman home were at last complied with. She went with her preserver, served him long and faithfully, and, I believe, died in the family. May God forgive the land!"

Expeditions of this kind were sent out regularly every year, and the numbers just given are below the average slaughter. In 1774, the Colonial Government ordered that the entire race of Bushmen not already in servitude should be

seized or extirpated, women and children alone having the doubtful clemency shown them of being made slaves.

When once in the power of the Dutch farmers, what treatment did these captured natives receive? Not unfrequently the most cruel. Beating, and cutting with the thongs of the rhinoceros-hide, were among the forms of punishment. In their cool brutality, masters would have lashes applied, not by number, but by time, while they were smoking a succession of pipes; and this method of "flogging by pipes" was particularly popular, as in the East India Colonies of the Dutch. If death ensued, no more account was made of it than if a dumb beast had died. Liable to be shot down at any time, like the hyena or the baboon, obliged in their outlawry to feed on vermin and roots of the wilderness, what condition of mind were they in toward the merciless intruders into their domain? Treat a man, Koi-Koin or Bushman, like a beast, and you make him one. Untutored natives, originally contented and peaceably disposed, were converted into vindictive enemies. Driven from their fields and fountains, robbed of their flocks and herds, their wives and children, what else could be expected than that they should be transformed into exasperated savages, ready for retaliation by plunder and by the poisoned arrow?

The difficulty of reaching these men of the

desert and of the thicket, otherwise than with the rifle, has been greatly increased by the wrongs and cruelties of the Dutch period, and by a feeling of contempt and hopelessness in regard to them and to the Hottentots on the part of many English residents, especially in the early times of their colonial tenure. While the Moravians have established no missionary stations exclusively for them, individuals and families have been received at the settlements, have been reclaimed from barbarism; and, poisoned arrows thrown away, they may be seen, clothed and in their right mind, sitting at the Saviour's feet. Nor is this degraded people destitute of quick perception, and of other mental capabilities which may command respect. "Why is it," said a Bushman in an address at a missionary station, where some colonists were present, "why is it that we are persecuted and oppressed by Christians? Is it because we live in desert lands, clothe ourselves with skins, and feed on locusts and wild honey? Is there anything morally better in one kind of raiment or in one kind of food than another? Was not John the Baptist a Bushman? Did he not dwell in a wilderness? Was he not clothed with a leathern girdle, such as we wear? And did he not feed on locusts and wild honey? Was he not a Bushman? . . . It is true, John the Baptist was beheaded; but he was not beheaded because he was a Bushman, but because he was

a faithful preacher; and where, then, do the Christian men find anything in the precepts or examples of their religion to justify them for robbing and shooting us because we are Bushmen?"[1] No rude barbarian is it who can make such an appeal.

Genadendal, the oldest and still the largest missionary establishment in South Africa, has naturally been mentioned more often than any other in the preceding lecture. It is a representative station; and, if no other had been occupied by the United Brethren, this might well deserve all the time we have devoted to it. The mission in the western section of the Cape Colony has other stations — for instance, Mamre, already spoken of, and till 1854 known as Groenekloof; Elim, twenty miles from Cape Agulhas, established 1824; Goedverwacht, with the neighboring Wittewater, forty miles north of Mamre (1859); and Berea, near Genadendal, recently established (1865). These places have the advantage of being well supplied with water, and, while the neighboring lands are not fertile, yet, being irrigated, they are made productive. At Genadendal is a valuable institution for training native helpers, established in 1838. At all these stations there are chapels and schoolhouses; at two of them, smiths' forges, shops for carpenters, wheelwrights and for manufacturing coarse cutlery.

[1] *Philip's Researches*, II, 12, 13.

Mention has hitherto been made only of the western, the chief field of Moravian labor, that among the Koi-Koin and the limited number of Bushmen mingling with them. But Kafirs,[1] the dominant race of South Africa, have also shared, though for a shorter time and with less success, in the efforts of these persevering missionaries. The Kafirs are a nomadic, warlike, predatory people; tall, well-formed, with some resemblance to Caucasians; as to color, dark brown; the hair woolly, though they do not belong to the negro family. Their language, as in all other tongues south of the equator (those of the Koi-Koin and Bushmen excepted), places the qualifying syllable before the chief root, yet does not dispense with suffixes. Like others of the same Bantu stock, it is rich in vowel-sounds, euphonious and flowing. Unlike the two peoples we have chiefly considered thus far, they have compact civil organizations, and, in half a dozen or more wars with the English, have shown capacity and determination. They are cheerful, but irritable; inveterate liars and beggars; no less superstitious than neighbors who are mentally inferior, being in bondage to witch-doctors and rain-makers. Their superior stamina has enabled them to withstand the usual

[1] This is not properly an ethnographic term, but an Arabic word, denoting "unbeliever," with respect to Islam. The true form, *Kafir*, now seems likely to supplant the older forms of *Caffre* and *Kaffir*.

tendency to diminution upon the contact of a savage with a civilized race.[1] The Dutch, in their days of colonial rule, learned to respect Kafir courage, though not till after they had made experiment in outrages similar to those perpetrated upon less capable native tribes.

In 1818, the Moravians established Enon as an advanced post for efforts among the Kafirs. It is in the Valley of the Witterivier, a small tributary of Zondag (Sunday) River, forty-five miles north of Mamre, at the base of the Zuurenberg Mountains. The valley is ten miles in length, and the neighboring hills are broken into dells or kloofs. The region abounds in forests; the fragrant African yellow-wood, euphorbias, parasitical plants, jasmines and geraniums, diversifying the scenery. In the Kafir war of 1835, the community were obliged to flee from the place. In later native uprisings, the same has been repeated; and yet, in the war of 1846–47, it was the only missionary post which escaped devastation. In 1828, labor was begun at Shiloh, about five hundred miles east of Genadendal, on Klipplaat River, then outside the Cape Colony, in what is now British Kaffraria. This was by request from the Tambookies,

[1] The Kafirs despise Hottentots, Bushmen, Malays and other people of color, on account of their not being circumcised. On this account they regard them as boys, and will not allow them to sit in their company, or to eat with them. *Lichtenstein's Travels in Southern Africa*, I, 56.

a Kafir tribe, which holds that neighborhood. Afterwards, the stations Mamre and Goshen[1] (1850) were opened on the borders of Kaffraria. A party of predatory Fetkannas the next year committed murders and carried off cattle; which gave occasion for a fine utterance from one of the Hottentot keepers, Hendrick Benkes, whose entire stock, valued at nine hundred dollars, was stolen: "I hope one day to assist in bringing the gospel to the Fetkannas themselves." Still later (1859), we find Engotine, on the streamlet Engoti, which empties into the Ossen Kraal, at no great distance from Shiloh.

A movement was begun (1839) in behalf of the Fingoes, a fugitive Kafir tribe, who came within the colony for the sake of English protection (1835). That station, called Clarkson, formerly Koksbosch, is in the Zitzikamma, and belongs to the Western Mission. The Kafir races, robust, restless, unscrupulous, given to rapine and bloodshed, do not present the most promising field for quiet Moravian approaches; though, among the Tambookies especially, there has been a fair amount of success.

Labor in behalf of these tribes is not of as long standing, nor has it been thus far as successful, as among the Koi-Koin. Sir Benjamin D'Urban

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[1] At first called Sichem on Windvogelberg, not far from Shiloh.

says: "I used the words 'irreclaimable savages' advisedly; they convey my mature opinion, and I am disposed neither to modify nor to retract it." Alongside such a declaration we would place the testimony of an aged Kafir woman, Anne Adams: "When I hear the gospel, I feel something in my heart to which I can give no other name than peace. When I enjoy the holy communion, I would rather immediately depart out of the world that I might be at home with our Saviour, who shed his blood and died for me." We would summon another Kafir woman, Wilhelmina Stompjes, who wept over the sins of her people, and who labored earnestly and successfully for the enlightenment and conversion of many individuals. A missionary not given to exaggeration says:[1] "The strong and admirable features of her Christian character, her intense love for her Kafir countrymen, and her mastery of the language of the people, gave her a great advantage over the missionaries, who could only hold intercourse with them by the aid of an interpreter, and she faithfully used it in all humility for the furtherance of the Lord's work. With a warm heart and overflowing lips, she would tell of the love of God in Jesus Christ. Her word had such weight even with the proud chiefs that they were often swayed by it, and did not deem it beneath their dignity to

[1] Quoted by Carlyle: *South-African Mission Fields*, 123, 124.

send special messengers to the lowly maiden in the missionaries' household." In one instance the missionaries would probably have been cut off but for her. A fierce Tambookie chief, Mapasa, with a band of fifty armed men, came to the settlement, bent on its destruction. Pressing through the group of savages, each of whom held his spear ready to strike at a word from the chief, she, with undaunted courage, reproached Mapasa for appearing in such warlike fashion, and ordered him to depart. The fierce and cruel chieftain, completely overcome by her manner, instead of killing the missionaries and the woman who dared intrude on an assembly of men, withdrew peacefully, and apologized later for his conduct. Did Sir Benjamin D'Urban ever exhibit more of heroism than Wilhelmina, or a more evident Christian character than either of these two women, though they belonged to the race which he was pleased to persist in denominating "irreclaimable savages?" A later Governor, Sir Harry Smith, uses very different language, declaring that the frontier would be better guarded by nine mission-stations than by nine military posts. "I have been," says he, "in many fine churches, but my heart has never been so touched as it was in this humble temple of God in the wilderness, in which black people and white sit side by side as brethren in Christ."

Mission work in South Africa is prosecuted under discouraging liabilities other than those

already dwelt upon, such as the devastation of floods, the ravages of locusts, the failure of crops, the plundering forays of hostile neighbors, and the demoralizing influence of frequent wars. One is reminded, too, of "wild beasts at Ephesus." Missionary Schmit, of Enon, was one day, with a party of Hottentots, in pursuit of hyenas which had been making depredations among their flocks. The hounds started a leopard, which sprang upon a native and overpowered him. In attempting to aid the Hottentot, Mr. Schmit drew the animal's attention to himself, and received the full brunt of a furious attack, with no opportunity to use his gun. The ferocious creature seized him by the left arm, and with his paws tore the clothes from the missionary's breast. After receiving another bite or two, he grasped the animal with his right hand by the throat, and, being a powerful man, held him for a few minutes till one of the natives, hearing his cries in the jungle, came to the rescue, and shot the leopard through the heart. So terribly was the missionary lacerated, that for weeks his life was in the greatest danger.

By dint of faith and quiet, persistent toil, the Moravian Brethren have effected much. Even sixty or more years ago, Henry Marsveld, one of those humble men who went out in 1792 to renew the work at Genadendal, could say (1818): "I have had the favor to baptize four hundred

and fifteen Hottentots. . . . It is now twenty-five years since we began, in weakness and poverty of spirit, to preach to the people here; and we immediately experienced that the Lord most graciously owned and blessed our labors, opening the hearts of the Hottentots, so that his saving gospel found entrance. Many of them have departed this life with joy, in full reliance on his merits. Four hundred and seventy-seven lie in our burying-ground. How shall I rejoice, when I behold this large number assembled around His throne, to see others coming! All is of grace and remains mere grace." During the same period, upwards of fourteen hundred Hottentots, Kafirs, and other heathen had received the sealing ordinance. In the community at Genadendal, that radiating center, there are now (1882) between four and five thousand persons; while in the whole Western Province there are, at seven stations and out-stations, twenty European and two native missionaries, more than fifty native helpers, and over two thousand (2,157) communicants. These, it will be kept in mind, once belonged to Sir Benjamin D'Urban's "irreclaimable savages." In the Eastern Province are five hundred and ninety-two communicants; in the two Provinces, Eastern and Western, are found about twenty-five schools and twenty-five hundred scholars, and at fourteen different stations more than eleven thousand (11,704) souls, of

whom 2,749 are communicant members, under the immediate pastoral direction of the United Brethren.

The Moravian Brethren themselves engage in mechanical or farming occupations, the profits of which are always carried to the account of the mission. Their example and teaching have a most persuasive influence; so that natives, proverbial for idleness and inefficiency, like the Koi-Koin, or for contempt of labor, like the Kafirs, come to engage industriously in agriculture and various handicrafts. The chief monument of Hottentot skill is a bridge, one hundred and eighty feet long, over the Sonderend, supported by five massive piers and capable of sustaining loaded wagons. It is entirely the work of natives. When the Sonderend in one instance was at its highest, a farmer who had just passed the bridge met a Hottentot standing by. He began, as usual, to rail at the poor man, and at the laziness of the Hottentots of Genadendal. The Hottentot, pointing to the bridge, replied: "Baas, I do not choose to answer; let that bridge speak for us. If baas had built it for me, and I could without trouble walk and ride over it, I should not venture to complain of baas's laziness; for I should think that it required more diligence and labor to build a bridge than to ride over it." The farmer was mute.

This part of the missionary world, like every

other, has had its occasional critics — men ignorant apparently of the need, the nature and the power of Christianity; men whose mask of philanthropy is too thin to hide their indifference or hostility to revealed religion. Like the Boer at the bridge, they have been quite ready to avail themselves of conveniences which missionary toil and native civilization supply, and then repay by criticism and misrepresentation, if not calumny. More largely than any other denomination, the Moravians escape such detraction, but not wholly. Three quarters of a century have passed since Dr. Lichtenstein, afterwards Professor of Natural History in the University of Berlin, having been in the Dutch service at the Cape, was retained apparently as an apologist and eulogist of the old order of things. So inveterate is his prejudice that, upon only the most superficial acquaintance, he speaks thus of native converts: "They could sing and pray, and be heartily penitent for their sins, and talk of the Lamb of the Atonement, but none were really better for all this specious appearance."[1] On the most celebrated of early Christian laborers in South Africa he pronounces judgment: "It appears to me that Vanderkemp is of little value as a missionary;"[2] and the Professor volunteers a brief sketch: "When the Cape was taken by

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[1] *Travels*, I, 236. [2] *Ibid*, 239.

the English, he resolved, though then sixty years of age, to go out as a missionary to the Caffirs; and, being ordained at Oxford, he came here in 1797. After two years spent among these people, in which he says himself he has not accomplished much toward the spread of Christianity, the war broke out. He came for a while to Cape Town, but, at his return to the Caffirs, was not favorably received, and was obliged again to quit their territories." The value of Lichtenstein's opinion is to be measured by the accuracy of his statements. In the passage just quoted, which does not occupy seven lines of a quarto edition, we have five mistakes. Dr. Vanderkemp was not more than fifty years of age when he offered himself to go out as missionary; he was not ordained at Oxford; he did not visit Cape Town after his return from Kafirland; he was not unfavorably received on his second visit to the Kafirs, nor was he obliged to quit their territories.[1]

Of a later period is Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, who makes his flings at missionaries as "a set of needy and ignorant adventurers," "miserable adventurers," "idle vagabonds or senseless fanatics." His estimate of the natives is indicated by an approving quotation from Gibbon, who "somewhere remarks that the Hottentots of old ap-

[1] *Philip's Researches*, I, 95, note.

peared to form the connecting link between the human species and the brute creation." But the Colonel kindly favors us with his theory of gospel promulgation: "If we must, *nolens volens*, cram religion down the throats of savages before civilization has rendered them capable of comprehending its purpose, at least let the attempt be made by persons competent, from a clerical education, for such an undertaking."[1] We are laid under obligations more recent and hardly less weighty by Mr. Charles Hamilton,[2] who appears to be an admirer of Bishop Colenso. His contempt vents itself on the missionary in terms no less guarded and choice than these: "He knows nothing whatever, and is incapable of knowing anything, of human nature, whether white or black. . . . If the missionary is of no service to his countrymen, he is of still less to the Kaffir. . . . I believe a far greater amount of harm than good arises from the unfortunate prejudices and ignorance that so often accompany missionary labors. . . . I believe it to be so because the men whom I saw could have had no sort of moral or educational fitness for the work they had undertaken." As to just what would constitute moral fitness for evangelistic labor, we are left in the dark; but Mr. Hamilton supplies

[1] *Excursions in Southern Africa*, I, x, 166–173; II, 183.

[2] *Sketches of Life and Sport in Southeastern Africa*, 90, 91, 150. London, 1876.

a clue to his own ethical standard. "My rule," he remarks, "at that time, was one which much observation and travel, with some sacrifice of early opinion to modern conveniences, has modified, that no white man ought to starve when a black man can supply his wants."[1] The incident illustrating his code of morals, elaborated in travels and observation so extensive, is one which he gives with evident satisfaction at his own smartness — his securing and appropriating a fowl belonging to a native. It is not intimated that any remuneration was made. The circumstance that the South-African had a skin not colored like his own, and was withal a woman, changed the character of the act entirely, making it not only right, but manly and plucky withal.

What, now, have the apostles of civilization simple and pure ever done, or what are they likely to do, for savage races? Where are the polished philanthropists who, in their contemptuous prejudice, repudiating evangelical missions, stand all ready, with plow and printing-press, to start for the dark places of the earth which are so full of the habitations of cruelty? Let their names be handed in. If any men holding to this mistaken idea, that civilization must precede Christianity, are prepared to put the theory to the test, they are men of Christian principle and

[1] *Sketches of Life and Sport in Southeastern Africa*, 115.

devotion. The Dark Continent is not without an experiment of that kind. Eighty years ago, the English Methodists, under the leadership of Dr. Coke, entertained a scheme for introducing civilization among the Foulahs of Western Africa. A number of well-disposed artisans of various descriptions were engaged to go out under the idea that, after some progress had been made in civilization, missionaries should be sent to preach the gospel. William Wilberforce and some other leading men of the day lent their patronage, and great expectations were awakened; but the scheme proved a complete failure. When the agents reached Sierra Leone, their courage failed. They had not strength of motive sufficient to carry them out among the savages.[1] The constraining power of love for the souls of perishing heathen men is required to establish even philanthropic men among a barbarous people; and nothing will so soon start such a people on the high road of social and material improvement as the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In South Africa, civilization had the field, for more than a hundred years, all to itself; and what did it achieve?[2] It robbed the natives of

[1] *Evidence on the Aborigines*, 1837, 124.

[2] Even under the improved administration of later years, Gaika could not help saying, notwithstanding his obligations to the Colonial Government, "When I look at the large extent of fine country that has been taken from me, I am compelled to say that, though *protected*, I am rather oppressed by my protection."

their lands; it reduced them to virtual or actual slavery; it debauched them with ardent spirits; it formed illicit connections, by which both Europeans and natives are degraded; in the spirit of a Cortez and Pizarro, it has boldly declared that savage Kafirs should be made to sink before industrious men of a superior race.[1] When hard-working United Brethren, after twenty years of toil, had created a little paradise of comparative civilization at Shiloh, Europeans, chiefly Englishmen, importuned the Governor to send the Moravians away into the heart of the Kafir country, and to hand over Shiloh, with its fruitful fields, beautiful watercourses, and neat dwellings, to them.[2] Of such unutterable meanness have civilized men in South Africa been capable. But Sir Harry Smith, to whom that application was made, was not a man to countenance barefaced robbery. Other Colonial Governors, as Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and Sir Bartle Frere, have spoken in highest terms of missionaries and the results of their labors, and have lent important aid, personal and governmental. Yes, Christianity came at length; and, in half the time that mere civilized men had been doing little besides selfishly consulting their own interests, and making themselves a scourge to na-

[1] *Freeman's Tour in South Africa*, 212.
[2] *History of Shiloh*, 26.

tive tribes, it has accomplished a noble work. Including the results of all Protestant missions in South Africa, there are now one hundred and eighty thousand adherents, of whom thirty-five thousand are communicants.

But the end is not yet, nor is it near. Years of toil, faith and prayer must pass before the work will be finished. "Long patience" is a quality which the United Brethren have had occasion to cultivate on every foreign field where they have been, and here no less than elsewhere. At this southern extremity of the continent, there are many plants having spines and hooks. One of them is a well-known bush with recurving thorns, which make sad havoc of the clothes, if not of the flesh, whenever any one comes in contact with it, the *Acacia detinens*, and called by the Dutch *Wacht-een-beetje*, "Wait-a-bit." No man can have much experience in evangelistic movements among any native race there, without finding himself often admonished, Wait a while. Early Portuguese explorers set up stone crosses, but not a soul was the better for that symbol. Christ and him crucified have at last been preached, and the regeneration of the continent is begun. Bartholemew Diaz, the discoverer, named the southern point *Cabo Tormentoso;* King John II, of Portugal, changed the name to *Cabo de buon Esperanza.* Morally, too, the Cape of Storms has become the Cape of Good Hope.

LECTURE XI.

MISSION TO AUSTRALIA.

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We were last in South Africa. The Cape of Good Hope, six thousand miles from Liverpool, is midway to Australia, while Australia lies midway between that Cape and Cape Horn. If we make the coast circuit of this rounded mass, formerly called New Holland, we shall sail a distance equal to one third of the circumference of our globe; we shall sail round an area equal to the United States exclusive of Alaska, nearly equal to Europe, and ten times the size of Borneo, the largest island in the world. We shall find but few gulfs, and very few rivers; even its largest stream, the Murray River, although running two thousand miles, and with its affluents draining a basin equal to the whole of France, yet hardly connects with the sea. Most of the streams resolve themselves, during the dry season, into a series of pools, marshes, or dry beds. So, too, with many of the lakes, some of which become brackish. Of all the great divisions[1] of the earth, Australia is the most imperfectly watered, and the most scantily fur-

[1] The extreme length is 2,500 miles east and west; the greatest width, 1,960 miles.

nished with animal life. On the southern coast, there is a reach of more than five hundred miles, along which not one drop of water finds its way to the sea. A coastwise mountain-range of very moderate height confronts the Indian Ocean on the west, and a more elevated range — the highest peak of which, however, does not exceed seven thousand feet — faces the Pacific on the east. No active volcano has been discovered. The interior seems to be a vast concave plain, sparsely supplied with trees, extremely dry and hot. Though somewhat less than half the area lies within the tropics, it was supposed, like Central Africa formerly, to be a vast desert, till later explorations corrected the mistake. Rains, which come irregularly, fall, for the most part, suddenly; some of the rivers rising at once fifty or more feet, but the water is soon absorbed.

Australia must be regarded as the most peculiar of the six continents. Its remarkable vegetation is quite its own; far the greater part of the plants are found nowhere else, while not a few of those most frequent in other countries are entirely wanting.[1] The fern-brake is the only one common to this continent and to Europe. Scarcely an edible fruit or vegetable that is indigenous can be found, except to the north; nor is there a single native plant suited to agriculture. Noc-

[1] Hooker: *Flora of Australia*, xxvii.

turnal plants are more numerous than in any other part of the world; most of the trees are evergreens, and the timber is of greater specific gravity than water. The tulip, lily and honeysuckle, for instance, are trees of no inconsiderable size. Few plants have any perfume. Foliage, of which there is great poverty, is leathery, dull and sombre, and the same hues remain without change from season to season. Of the Acacia, some species are devoid of leaves, and have only long, jointed branchlets. For the most part, leaves are peculiarly attenuated, and turn edgewise toward the light, so that trees furnish almost no shade. The statement sometimes made that the leaves of the trees are wood, and their wood iron, is not inappropriate as regards many of them.[1] Trees of the myrtle family (Eucalypti) abound; and, of that family, the gum-tree is the highest in the world, attaining more than two hundred feet,[2] the stem, like a column, destitute half the way of all limbs. One species annually shed their bark instead of their leaves. There is a nettle-tree so deadly as to paralyze the traveler's horse.[3]

[1] Wilkes: *Exploring Expedition*, II, 165.

[2] "In Victoria and Gippsland glens, the gaunt Eucalypti hide their nakedness in their crowded proximity; they tower to heights of over four hundred feet, and challenge California in their gigantic length of stem." Ranken: *Dominion of Australia*, 128.

[3] Ranken: *Dominion of Australia*, 43.

The forms of animal life are no less peculiar. There are birds that can sustain life without water. There is a white falcon; while a black swan gives the lie to an old Roman proverb.[1] This is the home of the Emu, an enormous bird without wings; also the home of the harp-bird. There is one kind of bird that constructs tumuli, sometimes five feet in height and thirty in length, built with the feet, which are large and have a peculiar prehensile power. These mounds are for the eggs, which, being placed in layers, are hatched by heat generated in part from decomposition.[2] The water-mole (Platypus), a creature covered with fur, yet having four webbed feet and the bill of a duck, is a great anomaly. The most numerous quadrupeds are such as we find least frequently anywhere else. There are no monkeys, no beasts of prey, and only one native animal, the dingo (Australian dog), that has ever been domesticated by the natives. Of the mammals, more than three fourths belong to the low marsupial type,[3] of which there is but a single kind, our opossum, in any other country. The female has a "soft, warm, well-lined, portable nursery pocket," in which the young, comparatively immature at their

[1] *Nigro simillima cygno.*

[2] Stokes: *Discoveries in Australia*, I, 395.

[3] All but thirty out of one hundred and thirty-one species. The remainder are bats, rodents, etc.

birth, are quartered. Of these creatures, one kind is smaller than a mouse; another, the kangaroo, moves only with a jump from six to ten feet high, and a distance of fifteen to thirty feet. The entire absence of large animals and of ungulate animals, which are essential to higher civilization, was a noticeable feature before occupation by European colonists.

Not only was Australia the last to be introduced into the family of continents, but development would seem to have been prematurely arrested, as if it were an unfinished quarter of the world and behindhand. Its forms of animal and vegetable life are like certain fossil remains of more advanced regions.[1] Yet Australia has great mineral treasures — copper, tin and lead, silver, gold, and, more valuable than the gold-diggings, extensive coal-fields, some mines a thousand feet deep, and sufficient to supply the whole southern hemisphere.[2]

Politically, this new continent belongs to Great Britain. It is now two hundred years since the

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[1] *Dort die Natur in der Wiege, der Mensch kaum vom Thiere unterscheiden. . . . . Neu-Holland ist ein Greis, nicht ein Kind, es fängt nicht zu athmen und zu leben an, es hat vielmehr gelebt und gewirkt, und neigt sich nun zum Grabe.* Unger: *Neu-Holland,* s. 3, 24.

[2] The yield from the latter has a value of five millions of dollars annually. In the northern mountains, iron is so abundant as violently to affect the magnetic needle.

English first made their appearance there (1688); yet it was not till a century later (1769–1777) that the celebrated Captain Cook first gave to his countrymen any reliable information regarding a portion of its coast and people. Three other nations, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French, competed for possession. The earliest attempt at formal occupancy was the founding of a penal settlement in 1788,[1] known as Botany Bay, although the settlement was never there, but at Sydney, of which it is a swampy suburb several miles distant. At the present time, including Tasmania, there are six colonies under a constitutional government; composing the most important group of British colonial possessions, with a Governor, Council, and Legislature. Immigrant colonists, chiefly from Great Britain, are found only on the coasts, except in the south-eastern regions of Victoria and New South Wales.[2] This youngest of the continents, remaining practically unknown to Europe for a century after

[1] The last convict-ship was sent out in 1840.

[2] "About forty years from the first landing of the colonists, the sheep-stock numbered ninety thousand head. There were, recently imported and increased, a flock of some three hundred merino sheep. This small flock has since increased and multiplied, outnumbered and swallowed all other breeds, and spread over the whole Australian islands, to the number of nearly seventy millions. They have become pioneers of civilization, the absolute masters of the forest, and the foundation of an empire." Ranken: *Dominion of Australia*, 58.

Columbus's great discovery, even then continued for over two centuries with no internal advance. Germs of improvement were entirely wanting till an enterprising little island in the opposite hemisphere established a maritime connection, and introduced the element and impulse required for growth. During the last thirty years, exploration of the interior, as in Central Africa, has been pushed with vigor, though at the cost of valuable lives; but now a telegraph passes through the heart of the continent, which is two thousand miles wide; and, since the discovery of gold, growth has been almost unparalleled. Within the memory of men still living, and not the oldest either, the great harbor of Port Phillip was unknown; now the city of Melbourne, the capital of Victoria and chief emporium of Australia, and where till within less than fifty years the foot of white man never trod, has a population of two hundred thousand souls; has a large public library; has a university, and so has Sydney, of which the degrees entitle to the same rank as those of any university in the United Kingdom.

Like country, like people. While in natural history Australia is characterized by the least developed forms, man seems also to be least removed from the brute. The aborigines resemble, yet differ from, the Malays and from African negroes; have a skin less dark — indeed, dusky or chocolate-

color, rather than black; the forehead higher; the nose less depressed; the lips thick, but not strikingly tumescent; mouth wide and unsightly; eyes large, sunken and keen; hair somewhat matted, not woolly, but long and silky, more so even than the Caucasian family; a supply of beard and whiskers; limbs long and slender; the heel straight; the stature about the same as that of an average European. In the southwest of the continent, they are meagre, and have the appearance of starvelings; to the north and east, their physique is more robust. The painting of the body with black, yellow and white is universal, white being the color of mourning; while the removal of one or more of the teeth, though sound, and the amputation of finger-joints, are common. Dampier, an enterprising navigator and buccaneer, and the first to give (1688–1699) any valuable information in regard to Australia, says: "The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world." Captain Cook describes them as not living "in societies, but like other animals, . . . having the worst features and most unpleasant looks of any people I ever saw."

The Australians have, for the most part, no fixed habitations, their houses, if we may call them such, being only temporary coverings of bark or leaves, requiring but an hour for construction. When the night is cold, they make good their total want of clothing by burying themselves in

the sand. They never cultivate the soil; as a general thing, are unacquainted with boats of any description; they use hatchets of stone, and javelins tipped with bone; and their ornaments, implements and weapons can all be carried in the family store-bag. The bow and arrow are unknown to them, their few weapons being projectiles. They employ the wimmera, or throwing-stick, a contrivance for accelerating the motion of a lance; also the boomerang, which is wielded with great skill.[1] The Australian shows agility as well as dexterity. Depending upon the chase and upon fishes,[2] wild honey, lizards, reptiles, caterpillars, worms and roots for food, their condition is as low as can well be conceived, even below that of the South-African Bushmen.[3] Children, when troublesome, are killed. Woman is regarded as an article of property; is treated with the greatest indignity and cruelty. In no other part of the world is

[1] Wilkinson states that "a representation of this instrument has been found in the tombs of Thebes, in Upper Egypt. It is likewise distinctly delineated in one of the fresco paintings illustrating the manners and customs of the early Egyptians, now in the British Museum, where a figure is represented in the act of flinging the boomerang, or 'throw-stick,' at a number of ducks as they are escaping from a tuft of papyrus." Bennet: *Gatherings of a Naturalist in Australia*, 289.

[2] They have no fish-hooks of their own making.

[3] *Les plus bruits des hommes, les derniers sortis desmains de la nature; sans réligion, sans lois, sans arts, vivans misérablement par couples totalement étrangers à l'état social, les Australasiens n'ont pas la moindre idée de leur nudité.* M. Bory de St. Vincent.

her condition worse. Wife-stealing prevails; polygamy and infanticide exist.[1] Rev. George Taplin says: "The natives told me that, some twenty years before I came to Point Macleay, they first saw white men on horseback, and thought the horses were their visitors' mothers, because they carried them on their backs! I have also heard that another tribe regarded the first pack-bullocks they saw as the white fellows' wives, because they carried the luggage."[2] That the son-in-law should never mention the name of his mother-in-law, nor the daughter-in-law the name of her-father-in-law, is a singular yet imperative custom.

The language of Australia, which is broken into many dialects, possesses also certain characteristics common, so far as known, throughout the continent. It has a predominance of nasal sounds, and an absence of sibilant sounds; each word beginning with a consonant, and ending with a vowel or semivowel. It is aggregative. No prefixes are used, but only suffixes, and these to an almost indefinite extent. There is a dual as well as plural. In declension, the language is nearly twice as rich as the Latin, and has various conjugations, reflec-

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[1] "*Le rite de la circoncision découvret aux îles Fidji, Tonga et Tahiti, la perforation de l'oreille pour y passer un os, l'anthropophagie, l'infanticide pratiqué de préference chez les filles, appartiennent aux deux peuples.*" Topinard: *Les Races Indigènes de l'Australie*, 113, 114.

[2] *The Narrinyeri*, 68.

tive, reciprocal, determinative, continuative, with moods and tenses not less full than the Greek. Indeed, it is prolific in forms, and capable of indicating numerous gradations and even precision of thought. While the Polynesian tongues are simple in their structure, this is complex; it lacks, however, the substantive verb as well as auxiliaries. Like Indian tribes of America, the people have but slight power of computation or of generalization, and hence employ no generic term for tree, bird or fish, and the like. Invention seems utterly to have died out; they can imitate, but have no power to originate, or to improve upon anything once taught them. In social intercourse, there prevails a linguistic formality beyond that of almost any other people. Each family adopts some animal or plant as a badge, and, in tattooing, this tribal symbol is employed, which answers to the totem of North-American Indians. As in South Africa, rude outlines of men and animals, painted or etched, are found on rocks here and there. Of rulers they have none, but only leaders. Indeed, no word denoting "a chief," or "to command," is known among them.

Intensely superstitious, they believe in sorcery; and men become professional magicians by possessing the wise man's or "philosopher's stone," so much sought for in Europe during the Middle Ages. Shining, transparent specimens are deemed sacred, and avail as amulets, but may be touched

or seen by the conjurer alone. Only the most dim and inadequate religious notions prevail. They hold to a dualism of superior powers, one good, one bad, each with countless subordinate divinities. Fear is the universal sentiment; the love of God to man, or of man to God, being foreign to their conceptions. Belief in the immortality of the soul is very general, and the notion is entertained that disembodied souls become white, and may reappear; that the soul separate from the body is very minute, and can pass through a needle's eye. When any one dies, they studiously avoid mentioning his name; but, if obliged to do so, they speak in a whisper so low and faint that, as they imagine, the spirit cannot hear their voice. No priesthood exists; they have no temples, and offer no sacrifice or prayers.

Intellectually, the Australians are inferior to the Polynesians, the Papuans of New Guinea and the Negroes of Africa. Of all the human family, they must be placed in the lowest grade of the social scale. There are writers who maintain that these native tribes, like the Eskimos, Negroes, Hottentots and Bushmen, should not be deemed human beings in the full sense of that term; that they are half brutes; that there is an organic difference between them and the superior races; that they are not so endowed mentally and morally as to be capable of rising to a level with the Mediterranean nations of Europe; that servitude is their

natural lot, if extinction be not their fate; hence that it is absurd to attempt their emancipation from abasement; that kidnapping is legitimate, and that to destroy them is not homicide. In accordance with that sentiment, Australian aborigines have sometimes been shot by European colonists, it is affirmed, as food for dogs.

No denomination in Christendom is farther removed from sympathy with such unscriptural sentiments than the United Brethren. In 1850, the Governor of Port Phillip was Joseph Latrobe, a brother of the Moravian agent in London, and an obvious link thus existed between the little missionary community of Herrnhut in Germany and the natives of Victoria. Early in the year just named, two of the Brethren arrived at Melbourne, and proceeded thence northward to Lake Boga, in the region of the Murray River, two hundred miles northwest of Melbourne. A year later, the Government made them a grant of land; but, from the first, disheartening embarrassments were encountered. That was nearly coincident with the discovery of Australian gold mines, which unfortunately were not far off; and the same twelvemonth witnessed the arrival of one hundred and fifty-two ships, with twelve thousand passengers, at Port Phillip.[1] The year following (1852) there

[1] One fleet of forty-five merchantmen, which sailed from English ports during one fortnight in 1852, had on board not less than fifty thousand passengers bound for Australia.

were a hundred thousand persons at the gold-diggings. In passing the mission station, which lay between the Murray River and the gold-districts at Mount Alexander, the miners, some of them thoroughly unscrupulous, seemed bent on mischief. Station-fences were repeatedly destroyed, and no redress could be obtained from the magistrates. The presence of religious men stood in the way of all the selfish and base purposes of such adventurers, who took pains to alienate the natives from the missionaries; and their Satanic devices were only too successful. A few English gentlemen formed noble exceptions. For the Brethren to acquire the vernacular language was a slow process; still slower to acquire any controlling influence over the minds of natives, who are singularly unimpressible by divine truth; who had no longing for the bread of Heaven, but only for tobacco. "Give us tobacco," said they, "and you are good fellows!" There is no word for thanks in their language, and no feeling in their hearts that requires such a term. Their ingratitude, stolidity and threats of cannibalism might be put up with; but from white Europeans the missionaries had a severer trial. One of the latter at length laid claim to the very land which had been ceded by Government; and the disheartened Brethren, after five years, returned to Germany (1856). The Board of Directors at Herrnhut were not pleased with this abandon-

ment of the field, and resolved upon a renewal of the attempt, which was carried into effect in 1859. To the new station in Wimmera District, two hundred miles to the north of Melbourne, the name of Ebenezer was given.[1] In spite of the stupidity, the debased and filthy habits, the roving disposition, of these wretched aborigines, Ebenezer has now assumed the appearance of a neat, well-ordered Christian village, numbering perhaps one hundred and fifty souls. Among these is a small church of Christ, and there are several families constituted with due religious rites, in which domestic happiness and an aspect of civilization may be found. After two years, another station was begun at Ramahyuck,[2] over a hundred miles to the east of Melbourne, in Gippsland, a tract lying between Melbourne and New South Wales, and with equally encouraging results as at the other, although the hamlet is smaller than Ebenezer. A great change has come about. It had been the custom of the natives to burn the spears and clubs of a person at his burial; those who are Christianized now do this in their lifetime. Instead of the perpetual quarrels formerly existing, there are comparative harmony and good-will. Females are treated with kindness, though — owing no doubt

[1] The two men who went out at that time were Messrs Spieseke and Hagenaur.

[2] *Ramahyuck* — Rama, "our home."

to the peculiar enticements which surround them, and contrary to what is found in most other lands, civilized and savage — women in Australia are less accessible to divine truth than the men.

But has vital Christianity obtained undoubted lodgment? Does it appear that, among such dregs of the human race, a people at the farthest conceivable remove from Eden and from Aryan capabilities and culture, our religion will find anything to work upon — anything that can serve as a fulcrum for lifting so low a stratum into the light of day, and on to the general plane of the kingdom of Heaven? It should be kept in mind that the surroundings of this people are also peculiarly unfavorable. At the close of our War of the Revolution, English prisons were crowded to overflow; and in that circumstance Australian colonization had its origin. The first contribution which Great Britain made to this degenerate region of the antipodes consisted of her surplus felony. Shipload after shipload, till the number transported counted up to thousands upon thousands of the worst men and women which the United Kingdom could supply, were discharged upon the southeastern rim of the unfortunate continent. Not the horrors of the slave-trade in Western Africa, but the vices and outrages of demoralized civilization, were the earliest commodity sent to this ample penitentiary. Over half a century goes by, and the gold discovery

draws a crowd from many lands, not a few of whom, unprincipled at the outset, become case-hardened in feeling and in conscience. Gold-digging never refines any man. Gold built Melbourne; gold built Adelaide; gold is the basis of all material growth in Australia. True, among voluntary immigrants, a large, most respectable and controlling element is now to be found; but for long years it was otherwise. Governor Macquarie once said: "There are but two classes of persons in New South Wales—those who have been convicted, and those who ought to be." We are told of one Englishman who made a savage woman carry her husband's head round her neck as an ornament, he having first diverted himself by the murder. Another amusement of the civilized colonists, we are informed, was catching a savage, and tying him to a tree as a target to fire at. And such, it has been alleged, were not isolated crimes, but specimen facts.[1] No right of soil appears at any time to have been conceded to the aborigines. Under the present condition of things, though greatly improved, each European applicant may choose a certain number of acres, and, on payment of perhaps half the price, may enter into possession. The wide range, such as any people that subsists by hunting require, is more and more narrowed; the

[1] Napier: *Colonization in Southern Africa*, 95.

game on which they largely relied for subsistence vanishes; and native tribes, who have always lived in mutual hostility, dare not migrate; they can only linger around their old haunts and perish. Ardent spirits have been freely introduced, and, as is the case everywhere among savage tribes, have proved terribly destructive. Disease, starvation or violence do their work. One clan, numbering three hundred souls, was, in the course of only three years, reduced to four persons.

With such surroundings and with such results, what impressions regarding a people called Christian must be made on the native mind — what but distrust and dread? How incredulous and indisposed must they be concerning all efforts to improve their welfare, temporal or spiritual! When Mr. Hagenaur, a Moravian missionary, traveling with a young native (1862), told him that his countrymen on the Wimmera had improved a good deal since the establishment of the mission there, he expressed a wish that the missionary would come and teach the people in Gippsland. "I hope to do so," was the reply. "But are you telling lies?" said the young man. "Why?" asked the missionary. "Because," said the native, "the whites always tell lies, and the blacks can not believe them." Under the combined obstacles of native character and the influence of immigrants, would it be strange if not one conversion had been effected?

The Propaganda sent out to the west coast (1845–6), with Bishop Brady as leader, a party of Benedictine missionaries, consisting of seven priests, a sub-deacon, a French novice, an Italian, eight catechists, two laymen, and seven Irish Sisters of Mercy; but the undertaking, which was attended by a sufficient flourish of trumpets, proved a failure, except one small station, New Norica, to the north of Perth, in the interior, where Salvado, afterwards bishop, maintained a more permanent foothold.[1] The next year, others landed on the northern coast of the continent, at Point Essington; but they met with no success. The excellent senior chaplain in New South Wales, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, the "Apostle of Australia," a name much revered among the Australian islands (1793–1839), interested himself in the native population, and seconded efforts made by the Church Missionary Society,[2] which sent out Messrs. Watson and Hand (1832) to Wellington Valley, two hundred and fifty miles northwest of Sydney. A Colonial Government pledge of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum in aid of the mission was fulfilled till 1857. But the pernicious influence of the convict population on the outskirts of the colony was suffi-

[1] Rudesindo Salvado: *Memorie Storiche dell' Australia.* Roma, 1851.

[2] J. B. Marsden: *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Marsden.* London, Religious Tract Society.

cient to thwart all effort in behalf of the natives. The English Wesleyan Missionary Society sent out a Christian laborer to the neighborhood of Sydney (1821), and Governor Bisbane ceded to the mission twenty thousand acres of land. The results, however, were small — indeed, next to nothing. Four years later (1825), Mr. Threlkeld, of the London Missionary Society, established himself among aborigines in the neighborhood of Moreton Bay, five hundred miles north of Sydney, and the Government made a grant of ten thousand acres of land in furtherance of the object. Both these societies, the Wesleyan and the London, relinquished their Australian fields in 1829; they were expensive and unproductive; but Mr. Threlkeld finished his translation of Luke's Gospel into the language of natives near Lake Macquarie, two years later (1831), and the same was printed by the New South Wales Auxiliary Bible Society.[1] Under a missionary society which had been formed at Sydney, Messrs. Schmidt and Cuper founded a station (1838) called Zion's Hill, near Moreton Bay; and, about the same time, the Lutheran Society also (then at Dresden, now at Leipzig) sent laborers, Tischelmann and Schürmann, who began operations at Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, and afterwards at Encounter Bay, sixty

[1] He also translated a number of hymns, besides preparing a grammar of the vernacular.

miles east of Adelaide, as well as at Port Lincoln. Land, dwellings, schoolhouses, were provided; nothing was wanting but natives; and the missionaries became pastors of German congregations.[1] Messrs. Tuckfield and Hurst commenced (1839) occupying a tract of land granted by Government thirty miles from Geelong; yet little impression was made on the native mind; roving habits and tribal wars were here, as everywhere, in the way. After a decade of labor nearly fruitless, they removed (1848) to a point on Murray River. The year 1840 witnessed two movements in behalf of aboriginal Australians — one by the Gossner Missionary Society of Berlin, and the other by English Wesleyans, who established one station at Geelong, near Point Phillip, in South Australia; afterwards one also at Bentingdale, a hundred miles west of Melbourne, and another at Perth, on the west coast. The Gospel Propagation Society moved toward the opening of a mission at Somerset Colony, in Queensland (1867); but, natives and colonists opposing, it continued only a year. An institution for the children of the natives, started at Albany, on King George's Sound, by Mrs. Camfield, wife of the English magistrate,[2] was removed by the Bishop of Perth to

[1] Lutherans from Silesia, who could not accept the religious ordinances of Frederick William III, emigrated to South Australia. This led to an attempt in behalf of the natives.

[2] Mrs. Edward Millett: *Australian Parsonage*, 130–133

his residence in 1871. Reference might be made to the station started by the Anglican Colonial Church (1774) at Carmel, on Lake Tyers, twenty-five miles from Ramahyuck; to labors by the Wesleyans and the Gospel Propagation Society in behalf of the numerous Chinese, who have been attracted to the gold-diggings; to the Bookooyana Mission, begun at Point Pearce, on the west coast of York Peninsula, and supported by the "Aborigines' Friends Association," under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Kühn, who is a Moravian; and to the Hermannsburg experiment in the interior, which had to be relinquished (1873). The United Brethren were also led to undertake labor at Cooper's Creek, seven hundred miles from Adelaide, requiring one hundred and four days of indescribable hardships to reach. Their wagons would sink in mud or sand; water was not to be found; the heat proved intolerable; sand-storms were blinding, and inflammation of the eyes inevitable. The enterprise was entirely impracticable.[1]

Great disappointment has attended most of the attempts made for evangelizing native Australians. Those experiments have been made under an ample variety of auspices and methods, but they have encountered difficulties quite unusual. The sad peculiarity, as we have seen, of all earlier

[1] The attempt at Kopperamana was given up in 1860.

attempts, was that they had to be made in the presence of exiled convicts, then amidst the cyclone of gold-hunting, but always and everywhere in behalf of a people reserved for the ultimate test of Christian faith and patience. Of all human beings, that people seem to have the least curiosity, the smallest desire for improvement in any respect, and to be the least open to laudable incitement from contact with a superior race. Gather them into a school, and the lesson of yesterday is entirely forgotten today. "Of what use is it," they say, "that our children go to your schools? What that is useful do they learn there? If you draw ours into your schools, we will draw yours into the woods, and teach them something of real use — to fish, to hunt, to make weapons and nets." They pick up English with no great effort; but what use do they make of the language? Chiefly to beg for brandy and tobacco, and to grow voluble in cursing and swearing — an accomplishment of which the vernacular does not admit. They show rare aptitude for all the vices which Europeans and outside Asiatics bring, and which require no organized boards or helping hands at home.

Since the time when (April 19, 1770), from the mast-top of Captain Cook's ship *Resolution*, the cry of "Land!" was heard, it has seemed as if more of misery and detriment than of good has been brought to the aborigines. Who, we

ask again, who were the first messengers sent from England? Not messengers of mercy, but jail-birds, missionaries of the pit; and the prevailing result of British occupation has been moral and social devastation. As it is written, "How portentous are the feet of them that preach the gospel of destruction, and bring sad tidings of bad things!" The European bush-rangers of Australia have been pronounced by English writers themselves to be a race of wretches wholly unsurpassed in violence and treachery. Their pestilential profligacy was like a sirocco from "the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone." Government policy and administration, especially in former days, proceeded upon an arbitrary assumption of rights, and were sometimes thoroughly unchristian. The Parliamentary Inquiry of 1836, elicited by Sir William Molesworth, drew such a picture of colonial infamy as must have astonished the most apathetic; and the Report of 1837 only confirms the horrible truth of statements then made.[1] Spanish occupancy of the West

[1] William Howitt: *Colonization of Christianity*, 471.

"Mr. Bannister, late attorney-general for that colony, says, in his recent work, *British Colonization and the Colored Tribes:* 'In regard to New South Wales, some disclosures were made by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Mr. Coates, and by others, that are likely to do good in the pending inquiries concerning transportation; and, if that punishment is to be continued, it would be merciful to destroy all the natives by military massacre, as a judge of the colony once coolly pro-

Indies was hardly more fatal to the aborigines. The Adelaide tribe is already extinct, and so are the Burra, the Rufus and others. In none of their former haunts can a single trace of them be found. Their language is extinct. So complete is the annihilation that only with the greatest difficulty could Mr. Waterhouse, the curator of the museum, collect a set of their weapons for the Paris Exhibition (1878).[1] Less than two hundred thousand of the aboriginal people, all told, remain on the continent—fewer by one third than the Indian tribes of the United States. In Tasmania, the large outlying island, the last native has died.[2] It required only sixty-six years from the beginning of occupancy here by the English in 1803 to exterminate the entire population (1869).

Of late years, legislation has been more humane; the tone of colonial sentiment has risen; philanthropic associations and endeavors have a

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posed for a particular district, rather than let them be exposed to the lingering death they now undergo. But half the truth was not told as to New South Wales. Military massacres have probably been more common there than elsewhere; in 1826, Governor Darling ordered such massacres; and in consequence one black native, at least, was shot at the stake in cool blood. The attorney-general remonstrated against illegal orders of this kind, and was told that the Secretary of State's instructions authorized them.'" *Ibid*, 471, 472.

[1] *Native Tribes of South Australia*, Introduction, ix.

[2] Bonwick: *The Last of the Tasmanians*.

larger place; and, though success in evangelistic lines has not been great, success has been achieved, and that, too, in greater measure than mere philanthropy has effected temporal improvement. The South-Australian Presbyterian Church, seconded by the Free Church of Scotland, has conducted a prosperous work at Point Macleay, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Taplin; and, since its commencement (1859), between fifty and a hundred natives have become church-members. Rather unreasonable in their requests they may be; their frequent waywardness may be a trial; yet says the missionary, "I know that in these homes the voice of family devotion is heard, morning and evening, led by the head of each family. This has come about by Christian influence, not by any positive command on my part. On the Lord's Day, instead of a wild and oddly dressed throng of savages, our chapel presents the appearance of a decently-dressed congregation of worshipers." [1]

Yes, these aborigines, so low down in the scale of humanity, will be represented in the general assembly of the redeemed. The first Australian black received into the Christian Church by bap-

[1] *The Narrinyeri*, 118.

"When I got down there, I stood a moment and listened to the sounds around me. Nobody knew I was there. From the young men's sleeping-rooms came the sound of voices singing devoutly Lyte's beautiful hymn, 'Abide with me! fast falls the eventide.'" *Ibid*, 117.

tism was a youth on whom the Rev. Mr. Chase of Melbourne took pity, when he was found wandering, hungry and naked, in the streets of that city. Becoming warmly attached to the family of that most excellent man, he accompanied him to England, and, during the voyage, showed the first signs of a change of heart, which continued in so satisfactory a manner that he could, before long, be baptized. He came from the Wimmera District — his mother had been shot in cold blood by a white man — and he had made his way to Melbourne. His desire to tell his countrymen of Jesus was great; and his kind friend, Mr. Chase, would gladly have provided him with an education for that purpose. The unwonted climate, however, told with fatal effect on the youth's constitution; William Wimmera died, trusting in Jesus, and his remains lie in a churchyard at Reading.[1] His case reminds us of Karpik, the earliest Labrador Eskimo who was baptized, and who died in England.

At neither of the localities occupied by United Brethren is there a large number of stationary natives — indeed, only a handful;[2] but, among them, there have been and are those unquestionably to be accounted disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ. The first-fruits of a Moravian harvest

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[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXX, 211.

[2] Not over one hundred and fifty at the two.

small as yet was a degraded black man, who received (1860) the baptismal name of Nathaniel. He had been one of the worst savages, but he could now accept reproof with an humble spirit; his addresses and prayers were marked by unction; in his illness he looked forward with joyful anticipation to being soon with Jesus, and often exclaimed: "Oh for more of love to Him who is so full of love to me!" and at the last, pointing upward, he said, "I see Jesus!" (1877). A brother of his began evidently to be taught of God (1863): "What you tell me," he testifies, "pleases me better from day to day; I like to feel that Jesus becomes more precious to me. I know I am a sinner; yes, I hate myself and my sin, but I hope that I shall obtain pardon and peace." At Ebenezer was also one Dickadick, who gave pleasing evidence of being a renewed and pardoned man. Amidst the severe and protracted sufferings of his last sickness, "Oh, my dear teachers," he often exclaimed, "I thank you for showing me the way to Christ. The Lord bless you and your labors among my poor fellow-countrymen! And may He also preserve your wives and children! And my Saviour, how gracious he is! To him be thanks and praise!" Then, turning to his wife, he said: "Amelia, do not run into destruction! Remain here and follow Jesus; then we shall meet again." Once he said: "Here I lie and wait for my

Saviour to come and take me. What I now suffer is, I am quite sure, for my good as regards eternity. Jesus suffered much more."[1] Mention might be made of a little girl, seven years of age, who fell asleep in Jesus, and who, to the great comfort of her parents, said, a few moments before her end: "Papa, I shall leave you; I go to Jesus!" and, with a beseeching look, added, "Please, papa, follow Jesus!"[2] Such dying testimony will be deemed the more noteworthy when it is remembered how Australians, in their heathen state, cling to life, wretched though it be. Suicide is unknown among them. One of the most pleasing evidences that Christianity has made an effective lodgment in any heart, savage or civilized, is a desire to communicate the good news of the great salvation, and that token of a genuine work has not been wholly wanting in converted Australians. "If you wish to catch wild elephants," it is said, "you must send tame ones among the wild troop;" and there are cases of native Christians acting upon that adage, and showing a wish savingly to benefit instead of fighting their neighbors.

What, now, has brought this about? Christian labor. Take out that distinctive element, and you withdraw all the real power. Experiments

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[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXVIII, 45.

[2] *Ibid*, XXX, 379.

of a different kind have been tried. Great pains were formerly bestowed to civilize the natives of Sydney;[1] gardens were given to them, and various attempts made to induce habits of order, and an acquaintance with European arts; but no benefit resulted, and the colonists there — kindly disposed, but not wise in their methods — came to think that nothing could prevent native deterioration. They did not clearly apprehend the fact that, among such a people, improvement will take its rise in the conscience alone, from a man's most interior self, and proceed thence outward; that external and secular moulding does not reach the real man, does not necessarily make him any better, nor awaken effective desires for elevation. It is in vain to anticipate fruit before there is a root. So long ago as 1814 an institution for such native children as could be gathered was established at Paramatta by the Governor of New South Wales; and once a year neighboring tribes were assembled near Sydney, were feasted on beef and potatoes, and dismissed again to the wilderness with presents of blankets and tobacco; but nothing to speak of in the way even of civilization was thus effected. More was learned of the vices of convicts and immigrants than anything else. In the course of a score of years (1821–1842), within the Colony of New

[1] Stokes: *Discoveries in Australia*, I, 252.

South Wales alone, four hundred thousand dollars were expended upon governmental efforts to ameliorate the condition of the natives; but the experiment was a complete failure. The few aborigines remaining there are no better morally than their forefathers were, nor more advanced on the road to civilization.[1]

Turn now to the inexpensive Moravian operation at Ramahyuck. The land is poor; yet the natives have, with great pains, been trained to industrious efforts. Hops and arrowroot are cultivated; for the latter, not only was a prize secured at the Melbourne Exhibition, but samples sent to the Vienna Exhibition won the prize medal there, too. The school was placed (1874) by the Government Inspector highest on the list of rudimentary schools in the Province of Victoria. In 1876, the missionary in charge was able to inform the Aboriginal Board that no more clothes, blankets and the like, which are distributed among the natives, would be required at that station. Their health has improved; life is prolonged. Even a surplus of cattle are raised. A royal commission, with Sir William Stowell as chairman, appointed not long ago to inquire into the management of all stations and into the present condition of the aborigines, reported relative to this Moravian establishment thus: "Everything in and

[1] *Native Tribes of South Australia*, Introduction, ix.

about Ramahyuck Mission Station was found in faultless order. The children were cleanly and well-clad, and many of them educated up to a standard that would compare very favorably with the schools frequented by white children. The adults were also found to have acquired industrious and well-regulated habits. Not only are the blacks on this station well cared for, and ably instructed in all those arts that pertain to industrious and rural life, but they are taught to be contented and happy. They cultivate arrowroot, and raise all the necessaries of life on the station. The children save their small change in money-boxes, and the adults store up their earnings until they can be invested in some way that will yield a satisfactory return."[1] Yes, and, to show their thankfulness for the blessings of the gospel which was first preached in Judea, they not long ago remembered the Leper Hospital of the United Brethren's church at Jerusalem, and out of their poverty contributed towards its support. The collection for that object amounted to more than twenty-five dollars. The gift came from not more than twenty to thirty persons, members of one of the most degraded tribes on the face of the earth; but their hearts were touched with love to the Lord and his work.

Formerly all they had in the way of a habita-

[1] *Periodical Accounts*, XXX, 377.

tion was a slight, rudely-thatched covering, placed on four upright poles, between three and four feet high, instead of which they have now neat stone cottages. Already, in 1879, some of the native women had supplied themselves with sewing machines, and one family had purchased a harmonium. It was Moravian success at Ebenezer which attracted the attention of the Christian public in Victoria to the aborigines, and showed the possibility of their elevation. In 1861, the United Presbyterian Church applied for a Moravian missionary to labor in their employ. As regards capacity for improvement, even Mr. Anthony Trollope is compelled to confess: "I heard the children examined in the school.[1] About thirty, I think, there were, and I was much struck by their proficiency. Their writing was peculiarly good, as was also their memory. They are a mimetic people, very quick at copying, and gifted with strong memories."[2] When his Excellency Lord Canterbury visited the same school, he was particularly interested in a boy of eight, who had been caught less than two years before, at which time he knew not a word of English, and had never seen a book; but now could read tolerably well, and had made fair progress in all elementary branches, writing included.[3] The most animating

[1] Instruction is wholly in the English language.

[2] *Australia and New Zealand*, I, 504.

[3] *Periodical Accounts*, XXVIII, 46.

fact, however, is that recently (1879–1880) the number of converts has nearly doubled. The Bible may be found in every house, and morning and evening worship is maintained. In spite of great embarrassments, in the face of no inconsiderable ridicule, contempt and scorn, the Brethren have prosecuted this enterprise, and have begun to demonstrate the possibilities of Christianizing, and so of civilizing, a people morally the feeblest and least susceptible to elevating influences of any on the face of the earth. Moravian missionaries have successfully conducted the forlorn hope of evangelization.

Indifference, intense worldliness and infidelity decry these efforts. "To me," says Mr. Anthony Trollope,[1] "the game is not worth the candle; . . . the race is doomed, and is very quickly encountering its doom." But what is it that dooms the aborigines? European aggression, European recklessness, European vice, European rum. The savages, naked, stupid, filthy, forlorn, were not, it is true, promising subjects for philanthropic labor. Their mutual promiscuous slaughters helped to keep population down to a low figure; but extermination would not have been reached. That was reserved for civilized foreigners to effect. Their hunting-grounds were seized, their means of subsistence cut off, indigenous degradation inten-

[1] *Australia and New Zealand*. I, 503.

sified by imported vices, and thus their doom sealed. It becomes, then, quite a convenient and philosophical apology to say that this is a result universal and inevitable where a lower type comes in contact with a superior one. Did the British ancestors of these Australian colonists melt away before disciplined Romans? Do natives die out under Dutch occupancy of Asiatic islands? Little as has been effected by missionary effort in Australia, there is enough to show its recuperative power. Christianity knows nothing of a doom on this earth which persevering equity, love and evangelistic fidelity will not reverse. Although the total native population of Victoria has decreased one half since the establishment of Ramahyuck, the number at that station has not diminished. The Narrinyeri, for instance, show the opposite of decay. Children are plenty among them. Christianity, once fully adopted, makes them more vigorous and long-lived.[1] It has been demonstrated that other tribes also are capable of rapid improvement. Many have acquired ease and correctness in the use of the English language, have become skilled riders and superior shepherds, and some have been made children of the Most High. While the convict immigration and too many of the gold-seekers were "filled with all unrighteous-

[1] *The Narrinyeri*, 9.

ness," a better day has dawned; for better men have come, and a better administration has been inaugurated. Lord Stanley, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, was most earnest and persistent in his instructions to the different Australian governors regarding the treatment of aborigines.[1]

Time was when British convicts ignorantly broke up gold-yielding quartz, and paved the streets of Bathurst with it; when the farmer, unawares, turned up the same mineral with his plough and used it for garden-walks; when an Oxford graduate ornamented his walls by building into them masses of white quartz variegated with the unrecognized yellow metal; but precious stones and human souls are not at such discount now. Improved sentiment and Christian principle have been gaining ground. That room for further improvement exists is evident; but shall men bearing the Christian name say that they do not account the game worth the candle? It does not pay to obey Christ's command in the Pacific! Australian souls not worth saving! In the day of final judgment, let me have the place of any despised barbarian of Australia rather than that of a baptized *littérateur* holding such sentiments!

Australian waters have long been proverbial

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[1] *Native Tribes of South Australia*, Introduction, viii.

for roughness; and no small effort yet remains before the desired haven of complete Christianization will be reached. But to the inquiry, "Watchman, what of the night?" mariners, gazing at the most beautiful constellation in the southern hemisphere, reply: "Midnight is past; the cross begins to bend."

LECTURE XII.

RÉSUMÉ AND CHARACTERISTICS.

RÉSUMÉ AND CHARACTERISTICS.

THE only field of Moravian labor among the heathen which remains to be surveyed is that in Central Asia. It was begun at the instance of Gützlaff, the well-known missionary; and, though only two men were wanted at first, thirty responded to the invitation. The two who were selected, Messrs. Pagell and Hyde, lay Brethren, hoped to reach the Mongols of Tartary by way of Russia; but, being refused permission to take that more direct route, they went (1853) to England, thence to India, and onward by Simla toward the lofty Himalayan region near the western confines of Thibet (1854). In 1855, they endeavored to enter Chinese Mongolia; but the extreme jealousy of Government made it impracticable, as also two later attempts. Accordingly they established themselves at Kyelang, in the Province of Lahoul (1856) — the mission-house being ten thousand feet above the sea — and at Poo, in Kunawar (1865). The same year that this second station was opened, the first baptisms, four in number, took place at the other station. Between thirty and forty converts are reckoned in later reports. Three missionaries are on the

ground. One missionary, the Rev. Mr. Jäschke, a descendant of the pious George Jäschke mentioned in Lecture I,[1] suffers extremely from impaired health, and is at present residing in Herrnhut, where he has superintended the printing of a Thibetan-German lexicon and a Thibetan-English lexicon. Considerable portions of Holy Scripture have been translated into Thibetan, also hymns and other contributions of Christian literature, as well as school-books; and this indefatigable man is acknowledged to be the best Thibetan scholar in Europe.[2] At both stations above named, lithographic presses have been established, and divine truth is scaling those more than Alpine hights of Central Asia. Seldom, however, have Moravian laborers had a severer trial of faith and patience than amidst the strongholds of Buddhism. But in that cold and dreary "Dwelling of Snow," near the headwaters of the Indus, the Sutlej and the Ganges, they have kindled a beacon-light; they are occupying advanced posts, and preparing a base for movements into Thibet proper and into China from the west, as well as into Mongolia, whenever Divine Providence shall call.[3] The time for

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[1] See page 32 of this work.

[2] "By far the best authority on the language of Thibet." *Max Müller.*

[3] H. Schneider: *Ein Missionsbild aus dem westlichen Himalaya.* Gnadau, 1880.

writing a history of the mission, however, has not yet come.

Nor is it necessary to dwell on the unsuccessful missionary attempts of the United Brethren. It would be singular if, in the course of a century and a half, they should not find themselves constrained, as Paul and Barnabas were at Antioch in Pisidia, to retire from certain fields; and singular if they did not find themselves now and then, like Paul and Silas, "forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the Word in Asia." They did retire from Persia, after a two years' experiment (1747–1748); and from Ceylon, after attempts extending through twenty-six years (1740–1766), because the Dutch clergy and the Colonial Government maintained persistent opposition; from the East Indies, after six years (1777–1783), the cost and the mortality being excessive; and from among the Calmucks, after a struggle at different times for more than half a century (1768–1823).[1] A movement toward China (1742) and another toward the Caucasus (1782) were failures. The experiment in Tranquebar (1775–1796) was not a success. Africa has also witnessed evangelistic disappointments; for example, in Algiers, Ehrenfried Richter, once a wealthy merchant, having been moved, although advanced in age, to undertake a work

[1] Alexander Glitsch: *Geschichte der Brüdergemeine Sarepta im östlichen Russland.* Nisky, 1865.

in behalf of Christian slaves, after five months of earnest and successful endeavors, fell a victim to the plague (1741). There was failure, too, in Guinea (1737–1771). During the renewed efforts of three years' continuance (1767–1771), the nine missionaries who went out all died, and hence Western Africa was relinquished. In Egypt, three attempts proved abortive (1752–1783); missionaries were unable to reach Abyssinia, their objective point; the Copts, among whom something was attempted, were quite indisposed to receive the truth; and political disturbances rendered an abandonment of that field necessary.[1] While Greenland and Labrador furnish monuments of success, other northern enterprises have been baffled, as one in Lapland (1734–1735), because the Swedish Laplanders were found to be under the care of the Lutheran State Church; and one among the Samoyedes, on the shores of the Arctic Ocean (1737–1738), where the missionaries were arrested, charged with being Swedish spies, thrown into prison, and finally sent back to Germany. The mission in Demarara, British Guiana (1835–1840), was spoken of in Lecture IV.

Here and there about the world, there have been numerous instances of Christian labor performed by individual Moravians, sometimes under the immediate direction of the Unitas Fratrum,

[1] *Narrative of the Life of John Henry Danke.* London, 1830.

and sometimes otherwise. Thus, in Florida, a gentleman supported a missionary who was detailed for the purpose of laboring among the slaves on his estates. Five minutes out from the Jaffa gate of Jerusalem is a lazar-house, founded by the Baroness of Keffenbinck Ascheraden, which was from the first (1867) in charge of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Tappe, formerly in Labrador, but has now been placed in the hands of the Moravian church, and to some of the wretched inmates this leper-home has proved the vestibule of heaven. There are also various forms of home work, such as Young Men's Associations, Ragged Schools, Evening Classes and Sunday Schools, carried on by the German congregations. In the British and American provinces, there is no small amount of home-missionary labor.

If it were proposed to take a comprehensive view of Moravian evangelistic work, it would be necessary to notice the Diaspora,[1] a mission of the United Brethren among the State churches of Continental Europe. It takes its name from a Greek term, signifying the Dispersion, in the first verse of Peter's First Epistle. It is carried on independently by the German province. This enterprise belongs to the department of domestic missions, its object being, not to withdraw members from existing churches, but to foster spirit-

[1] *Ueberblick über den Gang des Diasporawerkes.* 1877.

ual life by the formation of societies for prayer, Scripture readings, and for edification in general. Missionaries itinerate through Protestant Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Poland; through Livonia, Esthronia, and certain other parts of Russia; visiting from house to house, and holding religious services in chapels or prayer-halls, but not administering the sacraments. There are about sixty central stations. This form of unsectarian effort is not of recent origin; it dates from 1729, if not even earlier, when it was found necessary to establish a traveling ministry, in order to meet the wishes of those persons, widely dispersed, who desired to have fellowship with the Brethren. Whenever Continental state churches shall be disestablished, an evangelical element now gathered into societies will doubtless, to a very great extent, become formally connected with the Unitas Fratrum, as has already been witnessed in the formation of Swiss Moravian churches since the new ecclesiastical régime of 1873. The present number of adherents is estimated at seventy or more thousand. It is quite possible that there may yet be a fulfillment of the striking declaration of Schäffer in a sermon at Berthelsdorf, one hundred and sixty years ago:[1] "God intends to kindle a light on these hills which is to illumine the whole country. Of this I am fully and firmly persuaded."

[1] At the installation of Rothe, August 30, 1722.

One outgrowth of the Diaspora mission is a work since 1879 in Bohemia, which combines, in some measure, features and aims of both foreign and domestic missions; and special interest attaches to this enterprise from the circumstance of its being among the seats of the Brethren's ancient church. Success is attending the movement. Four Moravian churches, with a membership of nearly two hundred and fifty, have been gathered. Since 1867, there has been an orphanage at Rothwasser, and the memorable prayer of Comenius is being answered.[1] The martyrdom of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and the ministry of other Bohemian reformers before the Reformation, have not yet accomplished their whole work. Historic heroism is reasserting its inspiration today.

The missionary spirit at Herrnhut was developed at first more especially among the Sclavonic members, those who had felt the heel of Romish oppression; whose relatives were still under a galling yoke; who kept in mind ancestral night-worship in the wilderness, precious hymns once sung with bated breath, or that rung out clearly in the hour of martyrdom — a testimony to Christ's cross and crown that was cut short only by the executioner's axe; and who remembered also rapt supplications of their forefathers, in the midst of which earth had been left

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[1] See page 30 of this work.

and heaven entered. German adherents from the Pietistic school became assimilated. The season of marked spiritual quickening in 1727 fused all the elements into rare fraternity, a true Unitas Fratrum, permeated by mutual Christian love and love to the Saviour. But, well for them and for the world, that revival did not spend itself in the luxuries of personal religious enjoyment. At Halle, there was a growing legalistic spirit, repressive and restrictive, rather than free and creative; at Herrnhut there sprang up a strong desire to have others share in the refreshment of quickened spiritual life. With that as an efficient sentiment, the way was prepared in the hearts of the little community for broader sympathies and remoter efforts. The Waldensian church is indeed a martyr church, yet not till since the Revolutionary period of 1848 has that brave, suffering people come down from its fastnesses among the High Alps, and entered upon evangelistic work at various points in united and enfranchised Italy. But the renewed Moravian church has, from its outset, been a missionary church. Happily, it did not become a state church, nor become amalgamated with the Reformed or the Lutheran communion. The original idea of the United Brethren was religious life and labor, separate from Protestant churches, not by organization, but by sphere and method. On becoming leader and presiding genius, Count Zinzendorf aimed to give the community such form

and position as would not interfere with state churches, and would keep Herrnhut so far outside of those establishments that it should neither be absorbed, nor be marred by contact. Immediate social segregation, and at length ecclesiastical consolidation, resulted. From the first, they could well have said:

> "We are a garden walled around,
> Chosen and made peculiar ground;
> A little spot enclosed by grace,
> Out of the world's wide wilderness."

Proselytism has never been chargeable upon them; indeed, from their earliest day they have professed not to desire great denominational increase; non-extension was even adopted as a principle. At the same time, the true evangelistic idea became scripturally dominant — the purpose to give the glorious gospel to the largest possible number of those who had never heard it. They reduced to practice the truth that no community can be so small, and no individual so poor, as not to be bound to do something in this line. Only ten years after the first tree was felled in the wilderness at Herrnhut — the census giving merely such a number of souls (600) as may be found in a New-England hamlet — they were ready for a movement beyond sea. Four months later, they started another. Within five years, they began as many foreign missions — in 1732, to negroes of St.

Thomas; in 1733, to the Eskimos of Greenland; in 1734, to Indians on our continent; in 1735, to Indians in South America; in 1736, to Hottentots in South Africa; and, within four and twenty years from the time that Dober and Nitschmann started for the West Indies, eighteen new missions had proceeded from that little village of glowing evangelistic zeal.

Nor did this prove to be a mere effervescence; missionary thought became a large constituent in the continued life of the Unity. It grew with their growth; it had a conspicuous place in all their plans and movements; it is the staple of their literature; it was prophetically symbolized in that ancient Episcopal seal of their church which has come down to them from the early Bohemian Brethren — on a crimson ground a lamb, bearing the resurrection cross, from which hangs a triumphal banner with the motto: *Vicit Agnus noster; Eum sequamur* ("Our Lamb has conquered; Him let us follow"). That idea has been the very soul of their organization, and the secret of their prosperity. It occupies much time in deliberations at their ecclesiastical gatherings; a certain number of foreign missionaries have place in the General Synod; all their periodicals are largely occupied with evangelistic affairs. Herrnhut and its affiliated settlements are not so much ecclesiastical centers as missionary colleges.

Especially should it be noted that the Moravian

church maintained its evangelical soundness and evangelistic activity throughout the eighteenth century — a century of religious inertness on the continent of Europe; a century of spiritual coldness, formalism and ever-widening rationalism. In spite of an uninviting native soil and atmosphere, Zinzendorf's grain of mustard-seed kept on growing slowly and steadily till it has become a great tree, and many are the birds of the air that have lodged in the branches thereof. One hundred years ago (1790) there were less than thirty stations; now there are more than three times that number (ninety-eight), besides fifteen out-stations.[1] A century and a half ago, a few shillings in the pockets of two poor men constituted the entire fund of the United Brethren available for foreign missions; now the average annual income from Moravian sources at home is about one hundred thousand dollars, and not far from a hundred and fifty thousand dollars from other sources. More than two thousand brethren and sisters (2,158)[2] have engaged

[1] At the first jubilee (1782) there were twenty-seven stations and one hundred and sixty-five missionaries; at the second jubilee (1832) there were forty-one stations, two hundred and nine missionaries, and forty thousand adherents.

[2] At the present time, July, 1881, the stations are served by three hundred and fifteen missionaries, male and female — of whom thirty-three are natives — and one thousand four hundred and seventy-one native assistants.

in the foreign work; and, at the present time, there are, under the care of missionaries, over seventy-four thousand souls[1] — more than twice the number of members in the home churches of the United Brethren throughout the German, English and American provinces. But the church has by no means been able to respond favorably to all requests for new undertakings; between the meetings of the last two General Synods (1869–1879), seventeen such proposals came before the Mission Department. Growth, however, still continues; the last fifty years showing a gradual increase in nearly every important item.

Yet mere numerical increase of converts from heathenism has never been their ambition. This is a fundamental maxim, and evidence thereof runs through their published declarations. "We adhere firmly to the principle that, in our efforts for the conversion of the heathen, we will not chiefly aim at a large number of persons nominally brought to a profession of Christianity, but strive that, by means of the gospel preached with demonstration of the Spirit and of power, those

[1] There are twenty-five thousand two hundred and ninety-eight communicants. There are two hundred and eleven day-schools, with sixteen thousand four hundred and thirty-seven scholars; and eighty-nine Sunday-schools, with twelve thousand eight hundred and sixty-one scholars.

committed to our charge may be really turned 'from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' It is requisite, first of all, emphatically to insist upon the necessity of change of heart (John iii: 3), and then to show that true faith (James ii: 17) must manifest itself as the power of God in the life by the fruits of the Spirit (Gal. v: 22)."[1] Their missions are substantially moulded, so far as circumstances permit, after settlements planted in the three Moravian provinces, so that there is real and visible unity throughout the world, though the regions and nationalities are so remote from one another. To secure genuine conversion and holy living, the Moravians, like all other Christian laborers, find no easy task, especially in communities where concubinage has long prevailed, and yet more especially in the neighborhood of Roman Catholic missionaries — not to name any Protestants — who are ready to baptize illegitimate children, and to grant the parents of such children a formal or implied standing in their churches.

As might be expected, they observe missionary comity, not building upon other men's foundations. "Ever guard against proselyting," is enjoined upon all missionaries; "but, if members of other churches are led by change of residence or by marriage to seek fellowship, receive them,

[1] *Results of the General Synod of* 1879, 114.

yet not without a letter of recommendation from their minister."[1] "We never enter into controversy with any other denomination, nor do we endeavor to draw their members over to us. Much less do we attempt to win over to our church any of the heathen who are already in connection with those of any other church."[2] A vast amount of friction on foreign ground would have been saved if the agents of other denominations were equally scrupulous, or if all converts were as wise as the one who said to an Anglican clergyman, when he was endeavoring to entice her away from the Moravian connection: "It will be well if you keep on in your church, and I will keep on in mine." One advantage in many of the heathen fields selected by them is, that they are of such a character as to screen them from outside proselyting cupidity.

The United Brethren deem the heathen to be entitled to an urgent compassion. The Mission Department gives injunctions in terms such as these: "Being animated by this tender solicitude, you will not fail to be faithful in seeking the lost, patient in tending those that have been found, and constant in your intercession for all. Ah, dear brethren, it requires great faithfulness

[1] *Instructions to Missionaries of the West Indies*, 10.

[2] *A Declaration Relative to Labor Among the Heathen.* By Bishop Spangenberg. 1768. Also, *Instructions for Missionaries.* Second edition. London, 1840.

in seeking the lost, for the wandering sheep have gone far astray. Many a weary walk will you take in vain; many an earnest call will be lost in the air; many a kind entreaty will be slighted. But tender love for their benighted souls will not allow you to give up your search till you have found the poor sheep, and brought it home with joy. Strong is the power of Satan in holding captive the souls of men, but stronger, we trust, will be your compassion for them, which will urge you forward, till you have snatched them out of his hands, and brought them as trophies to Immanuel."

Certain characteristics of Moravian missionaries attract our attention — characteristics which result from the prevailing type of piety, as well as the social condition and habits of the church at home. So fully is the duty of evangelizing the heathen lodged in their current thought, that the fact of any one's entering personally upon that work never creates surprise; it falls in with acknowledged obligations and general expectation; for no one is ever urged to undertake the foreign service, nor is urgency ever required. The answer of Ledyard, on his return to England from an expedition, and on being at once sought for by the African Association, will always remain historical. To the question when he would be ready to set out, he replied, "Tomorrow morning." So, too, Sir Colin Campbell asked for only twenty-

four hours before starting for India. But the former was habituated to distant travels, and the other to military exigencies. At Marienborn, Zinzendorf sent one day for a Moravian brother, and said to him: "Will you go to Greenland tomorrow as a missionary?" The man has had no previous intimation of the matter. For just a moment he hesitates, and then answers: "If the shoemaker can finish the boots that I have ordered of him by tomorrow, I will go."[1] Promptness of obedience to any call recognized as from God, so far from being exceptional and awakening surprise, is habitual. It is a settled conviction that the most abject and most remote of our race are within the line of that covenant which embraces the ends of the earth; that such are not beyond the redeeming efficacy of Christ's blood; and hence are to have a place in Moravian prayers, and, if possible, in Moravian personal efforts.

The circumstance that the objects of evangelistic interest may be difficult of access, far distant, and far down on the social scale, is not regarded as a thing that calls for highly demonstrative proceedings, or for a widespread heralding, as if something marvelous, or even unusual, were in hand. The spectacular has no place in anything

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[1] When William Chalmers Burns was appointed missionary to China, and was inquired of when he could be ready to start, he answered, "Tomorrow."

that concerns mission-work by the United Brethren. The kingdom of Heaven cometh not with observation; the clear shining of the light makes no noise, and requires no voucher. "We think it a great mistake," said the Rev. Christian Ignatius Latrobe, many years secretary of the Brethren in England, "we think it a great mistake, after their appointment, when they are held up to public notice and admiration, and much praise is bestowed upon their devotedness to the Lord, presenting them to the congregation as martyrs and confessors, before they have even entered upon their labors. We rather advise them to be sent out quietly, recommended to the fervent prayers of the congregation, which is likewise most agreeable to their own feelings if they are humble followers of Christ." With an exemption from the illusive and the romantic that is noteworthy, and a sobriety and an unostentatious bearing that command confidence and even admiration, candidates for foreign service start on their long journeys and voyages. Their inspiration has a higher and more enduring source than the popular platform, or the emblazonment of the press. It never seems to be so much their desire to have the praise of men in their ears as the peace of God in their souls. Few failures in Christian standing have occurred among them. The genius of Herrnhut, and of its missions no less, finds utterance in the Litany, where, amidst entreaties for personal blessings, occurs the

petition: "From the unhappy desire of becoming great, preserve us, gracious Lord and God." Once arrived at their destination, and introduced to all the varied experiences of their work, missionaries, when writing home, send only an unvarnished narrative of proceedings. No staff of foreign laborers give less exaggerated reports, or reports with less suppression of unwelcome truth.

I have spoken of promptness for service It must not be understood that this proceeds from any apparent constraint, otherwise than as the love of Christ constraineth them. Missionaries of the United Brethren go cheerfully to their allotted sections in the great and rugged vineyard; for the most part, they toil not only without murmuring, but with contentment. The tediousness of exile is beguiled by sacred song; their temperament is neither sanguine nor melancholic; difficulties they meet with serene indifference or with persistent hopefulness. Christian loyalty knows nothing of latitude. On the part of Moravians, the accepted sentiment is, that in God's providence it falls peculiarly to them to go out into the highways and hedges of the wide world, to cultivate an aptitude for the impracticable, as others would term it; and hence it requires no effort for them to become pioneers, the outlying pickets, of the great missionary army. Tribes the most stolid, debased, isolated, and insignificant, are chiefly their chosen sphere.

And, in carrying glad tidings to such, should there be any less gladness than on the same errand to the more cultured and the more populous? Are such any less in need of the gospel, any less within the scope of Christ's last command?

For those called to spend their best days in such uncongenial regions, it is a relief that pensions, though small, are secured to missionaries — as is true of all who hold any spiritual office — when disabled by old age or otherwise; and it is also no small relief that their children are to be educated at the general expense, being sent to Germany or elsewhere, for that purpose, when about eight years of age. It indicates a hearty traditional interest in the good work, that the children and children's children of so many missionary families should follow in the steps of their parents. One member of the present directing board, formerly a missionary himself in South Africa, has three children in the service; and quite recently Mrs. Berkenhagen has gone to the Mosquito coast, a representative of the sixth generation of her family — that of Matthew Stach, in direct descent — which has been devoted to foreign work in Greenland and Central America for one hundred and fifty years.

A word is required in regard to financial matters. Besides contributions by members of

the church in the home provinces, some mention should be made, among the sources of revenue, of the funded legacies — yielding about eighteen thousand dollars annually — which have been left for missionary purposes with the proviso that the interest alone be used; and reference should be made to annual grants from associations established in the three provinces of the church. Of these the chief are: "The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel," established in London, 1741, which owns a missionary vessel and assumes the entire support of the Labrador Mission; "The Missionary Society of Zeist," Holland, dating from 1793, which has largely aided in supporting the work in Surinam; "The Missionary Union of North Schleswig," dating from 1843; "The Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," organized at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1787; and "The Wachovia Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," at Salem, North Carolina, originated in 1823. These are simply auxiliaries for raising funds; they do not themselves commission or send out laborers; and hence should not be enumerated, as is sometimes done, among foreign missionary societies.

The economical regimen and habits of Moravian missionaries deserve notice. One governing idea throughout the church, whether in its home or its

missionary provinces, is the reflex of their name, Unitas Fratrum. The unity of the whole body is sedulously promoted in many ways. It is a duty required of the stronger to aid the weaker, and of every one to help the community. Whatever, then, any missionary may earn is passed to the credit of the general treasury. On the score of accumulation there can be no invidious distinctions, for no missionary may engage in any business on his own account, and no one who carries on business for the mission has a right to claim a share in the profits.[1]

True, the classes in society from which they come are, in large part, of that grade which is accustomed to frugality — artisans and husbandmen. A majority of them are beforehand inured to toil; yet, independently of this, they gladly accept the apostolic example of ministering with their own hands to their own necessities. The benefit of the whole is enforced as a motive. It is a sentiment deeply inwrought among the United Brethren that all labor, manual no less

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[1] *Regulations Issued by the Missionary Department*, 21.

"If our missionaries have private property, they are not absolutely expected to make use of the interest or principal for their subsistence. But it is to be understood that such articles as serve only for enjoyment or convenience, and are not needed for actual subsistence or the discharge of official duties, are never to be procured otherwise than at private expense." *Ibid*, 15.

than evangelistic, should be carried on as a consecrated part of life;[1] and hence, in their conception, there is nothing so rough or so humble as not to have dignity and beauty. Our wants always depend largely upon our manageable desires; and Moravian missionaries make up their minds to have but few wants. Their style of living, and the surroundings with which they furnish themselves, are simple, comparatively inexpensive, and happily less removed from the means and modes of those whom they seek to benefit than is the case with sundry other Protestant missionaries. To make upon natives the impression of wealth is to stimulate their greed, and to render a successful presentation of saving truth much more difficult. Experience for over a hundred years has uniformly shown that a conscientious management of temporal affairs stands in close connection with internal prosperity, while unfaithfulness or carelessness in temporalities has been no less closely related to spiritual decay.[2]

From what has been said, it should not be inferred that these foreign laborers are ignorant and

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[1] "The missionary should take a pleasure in saving or earning whatever he can, with propriety, on behalf of the mission in which he is employed, remembering that everything saved or earned is an advantage to the General Mission Fund, the claims upon which have become so numerous and so heavy." *Instructions to Missionaries.* Second edition. London, 1840.

[2] *Regulations Issued by the Mission Department*, 17.

altogether uncultivated. Taken as a whole, they are persons of good natural parts, good temper, practical wisdom, and a good common education. Many are thoroughly educated; some have been, and some now are, excellent scholars, as, for instance, at the present time, the Superintendent of the Jamaica Mission, who is a proficient in classical and Hebrew learning. Whatever the nationality, some degree of acquaintance with the English language is very general among them. In 1869, a missionary training-school was opened at Nisky, twenty miles from Herrnhut, in Prussian Silesia, for the purpose of a more thorough preparation. The names of Zeisberger, Kleinschmidt, and Jäschke have a recognized place in philological circles. Abraham Lukenbach and Christian Denke should be named as among those who studied and developed Indian dialects; while, in South Africa, Hallbeck was classed among men of highly respectable literary attainments. Allusion to some specific specimens of literary work performed by missionaries of the Unity will indicate that a certain degree of learning is not uncommon among them. Protestant missions are usually prompt, while Roman Catholic missions never are, to introduce portions, at least, of God's Word into heathen vernaculars. It might be expected that representatives of the Renewed Moravian Church would not be behindhand in this appropriate work. Into the Eskimo

dialect of Labrador there has been translated the entire Bible, which has been many times revised; a Book of Psalmody, containing eight hundred and eighty hymns and an appendix of Sankey's hymns; a Harmony of the Gospels; a Summary of Christian Doctrine; Luther's Exposition of the Apostles' Creed; Barth's Bible Stories; Questions and Answers on Scripture Names and Expressions; a Liturgy; various tracts; Song-Book, with music, for schools; a Geography; and a Dictionary in two volumes. In the Greenland dialect, besides a number of the foregoing, there is, in addition to the old Grammar and Dictionary by Stach, a recent Grammar by Kleinschmidt, to which men of learning accord high praise. The Arawak has been enriched by a part of the New Testament, besides a Harmony of the Gospels, a Hymn-Book, a Grammar and a Dictionary. Several works have been rendered into the Kafir. I need not here repeat what has been said of works in the Delaware, the Creole-English, and the Thibetan; nor will I linger upon what has been accomplished in a few other tongues.

It may seem invidious to speak of the devotional habits of Moravian missionaries; yet this can be said, without breach of delicacy, that the church of the United Brethren is a praying church; and that the subject of gospel promulgation occupies probably a larger place in their devotions than among any other religious commu-

nity. To an unusual extent, their hymns for social worship relate to the coming triumphs of Christ's kingdom. In the liturgy prescribed for every Sunday-morning service are petitions like these: "Prosper the endeavors of all thy servants to spread the gospel among heathen nations. Accompany the word of their testimony concerning thy atonement with demonstration of the Spirit and of power." The Monthly Concert for Prayer, on the first Monday of the month, is held in all the provinces. On the twenty-seventh of August, 1872, the Memorial Day of the Hourly Intercession of the Renewed Church (1727), there was instituted, by a voluntary movement, a Moravian Prayer Union; and the members make use of topics for daily intercession in concert through the week. The topic for Monday is, "Christian Missionaries," prayer being offered — "for all missionary societies and missions to both Jews and heathens; for the new work in Central Africa; for India and China; for our own foreign missions in particular; our brethren and sisters stationed in heathen lands; that more zeal and self-denial may be aroused at home on behalf of the mission cause; that young men with a true missionary spirit may be stirred up to offer themselves for the Lord's work; and that all may learn the duty and privilege of serving the Lord by giving. We pray especially for a blessing upon our church's work in Bohemia, and for an

open door for gospel labor in Moravia." The Prayer Union has issued a little volume of daily prayers for households.[1] Among the supplications on which our eye rests[2] are these: "Bless the congregations gathered from the heathen, in Labrador and Greenland, in South Africa and Australia, in North America and Central Asia, in Surinam and the Islands of the Western Sea. Own the labors and sustain the courage of our dear missionaries and their devoted wives, and enable them to commit their children to thy loving care for soul and body. Watch over thy messengers both by land and sea, and continue to hold thy hand over our ship *Harmony* in her annual voyages amidst ice and rocks and stormy seas. . . . Teach us to deny ourselves, that we may give to thee, whether of our abundance or our poverty. . . . May all our ministers and missionaries adhere firmly to the word of thy cross, and with all boldness and simplicity preach Christ and him crucified; kindle and fan amongst us the flame of a truly missionary spirit; and pour out upon us and our whole church the spirit of grace and of supplications on behalf of thy great world-wide work." Missionaries share that spirit in no inferior degree; they wait habitually upon God for the indications of his providence; they

[1] London, 32 Fetter Lane.
[2] Pages 7–8, 77, 79.

propose not to run before being sent, but, being sent, they trust with rare implicitness.

When we consider the character of those tribes among whom labor has been carried on for a century and a half, it will seem surprising that no more Moravians have fallen by the hand of violence; and, when it is further considered that the brethren and sisters who have been engaged in the foreign service number over two thousand, that most of them have crossed the ocean more than once, and that usually the voyages are attended by special perils, it must impress us that the sea holds no more of their dead to be given up on the resurrection morning.[1] Only thirty

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[1] The following have lost their lives at sea:

1736. Andrew Hickel, the widows Maria Franke and Judith Leupold, on their return from the Danish West Indies.

1740. Albinus Theodore Feeder, of Tortola, on his passage to the West Indies.

1742. Daniel Schneider, on his return from Greenland.

1747. Joseph Shaw, his wife Maria, and J. M. Huber, on their voyage from North America to the Danish West Indies

1774. Christopher Brazen and Gottfried Lehman, on the coast of Labrador.

1776. Anna Rosina Michel, wrecked off the Shetland Isles.

1786. Christian Heinze and Sister Konigseer, on their return from Greenland.

1798. J. Christian Hodgson and his wife Anne Elizabeth, on their voyage from St. Kitts to Barbados.

1817. John Frederick Kranich, on his return from Greenland.

are recorded as having suffered death by violence or accident.[1]

It would be strange if the mission-work of such a people did not conciliate, so far as it becomes known, the favorable regard of all evangelical Christians. That has been done, and not by a formal challenging of admiration, but by modest perseverance in their noble undertakings. It has fallen to them to lead the forlorn hope of evangelization. Oblivious of pestilence and the tornado, of privation, opposition and contempt, they have held on in their appointed path of obedience to Christ's last command. Now and then invited to labor among Europeans settled as colonists, they have in no instance turned aside from their devotion to the barbarian. Suc-

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[1] The following fourteen have lost their lives at or near their respective stations:

1743. George Zeisberger, drowned in the Cottika, in Surinam.

1752. Seven Brethren, three sisters, and a child, either shot or burned with their dwelling, by Indians who destroyed the Mission House at Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.

1752. J. Christian Ehrhardt, killed by the Eskimos, while exploring the coast of Labrador.

1782. Joseph Schebosh, shot by the murderers of ninety-six Indian converts near Gnadenhütten, on the Muskingum, Ohio.

1800. John Michael Reiman lost his way, near Hopedale in Labrador, during a violent snow-storm. *Periodical Accounts*, XIX, 159.

cess often requires a period of long toil, but impatience for results has not been manifested.

The esteem and confidence thus won have led to spontaneous pecuniary assistance from outside sources. In 1817, the London Association in Aid of the Brethren's Missions was formed by individuals not members of the Moravian Church, and now has auxiliaries and branches — some of them in Wales — amounting to nearly one hundred. From this organization, characteristic of English liberality, there is received an average annual income of about twenty-five thousand dollars, and a total sum, from the first, of more than one million five hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars.[1] A Dutch Society for the Promo-

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[1] *Large Individual Gifts.*

1832.	Lord Bexley gave	$50,000
1872. 1875.	A Friend gave	3,485 5,000
1880.	Anon. gave	10,000

Large Legacies.

1865.	G. Harryman gave	3,000
1868.	Miss Flavel gave	5,000
1868. 1869.	Miss Tottingham gave	42,065
1869.	Mr. Banniston gave	10,000
1869.	J. W. Brett gave	9,965
1873. 1874.	Miss Harrison gave	22,865
1875.	Mrs. Livins gave	8,780
1875.	Miss Berryman gave	20,290

tion of Christian Knowledge among the Negroes of Surinam was established in 1828; while in Denmark there was formed, some years since, an association called the Schleswig-Holstein Society, whose chief object is to assist Moravian missions in the Danish Islands.

"When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." Moravians as a body have met with some censures, chiefly undeserved; Moravian missions have been but little criticised. The inquiry may fairly arise, whether sufficient pains have been taken in the older foreign fields to educate native churches in the line of self-support, and to bring forward a native pastorate. Great pains have, indeed, been bestowed upon both of these highly important and closely related items of missionary policy; but the question is, whether they have been pressed with all the urgency that the best interests of evangelization require. It would seem that, after so long a period, a greater amount of local independence should here and there have been secured by the reproduction, out of native stock, of churches fully equipped according to the New Testament model — though their social grade might not be a high one — and in turn entering themselves upon the work of evangelization. As regards money raised among the missions — the annual amount being toward a hundred thousand ($98,000) dollars — it should

be said that, while stated contributions are made by converts and by native missionary societies towards the sustenance of their own churches, there is an income from traffic and trade. This ought to be reckoned only in part to the score of strictly indigenous self-support. Labrador traffic, for instance, which is carried on with England, forms a department quite separate from the work of the mission, and is committed to men sent out by the Board expressly for that purpose. In St. Thomas, Surinam, Mosquitia, and South Africa, there are unordained missionaries who devote themselves to such secular matters, and yet act also as assistants in evangelistic work. This agency is carefully guarded, as it has need to be, against abuse.

Criticisms, however, whether they relate to the church or to its foreign work, seldom call forth reply. Bishop Spangenberg, when asked whether public replies should be given to misrepresentations, gave an utterance which is still repeated: "Remain silent and wait upon the Lord." Quietness has not been without its reward. Many a distinguished man, on becoming acquainted with Moravians, whether missionaries or otherwise, has felt a deep interest in them. Such, for example, was Lord Gambier, the well-known admiral. When he sent ashore the despatch at Copenhagen demanding the answer of the Danish fleet, with the alternative of bombardment, he

made use of the opportunity to forward some "weekly leaves" to the Moravian minister who was then at the Danish capital. From the ranks of sister churches there occasionally comes forward a witness who can not refrain from hearty panegyric. In 1808, Bishop Porteus was moved to publish his opinion: "Among other religious communities, they who have most distinguished themselves in the business of conversion are the Moravians, or United Brethren. These, indeed, have shown a degree of zeal, of vigor, of perseverance, of unconquerable spirit, and firmness of mind, which no danger, no difficulties, could subdue (combined at the same time with the greatest gentleness, prudence and moderation), of which no example can be found since the first primitive age of Christianity." With reference to their evangelistic labor, Wilberforce spoke of them as "a body of Christians who have, perhaps, excelled all mankind in solid and unequivocal proofs of the love of Christ, and of the most ardent, active, and patient zeal in his service. It is a zeal tempered with prudence, softened with meekness, soberly aiming at great ends by the gradual operation of well-adapted means, supported by a courage which no danger can intimidate, and a quiet constancy which no hardship can exhaust." "Oh, when one looks at the number and greatness of their achievements," exclaims Doctor Chalmers, "when he thinks of the change they have made

on materials so coarse and unpromising; when he eyes the villages they have formed, and, around the whole of that engaging perspective by which they have chequered and relieved the grim solitude of the desert, he witnesses the love, and listens to the piety, of reclaimed savages — whc would not long to be in possession of the charm by which they have wrought this wondrous transformation? who would not willingly exchange for it all the parade of human eloquence, and all the confidence of human argument?"[1]

Most inspiring it is to contemplate such an example — the example of a brotherhood so small, with seven hundred and fifty of its communicant membership — ordained and unordained, male and female — engaged in the active official service of the church; and which, while supplying a ministry for its congregations, numbering about one hundred and fifty in the home provinces, sends out nearly one in every fifty of its communicants for foreign missionary work. One little community, that of Königsfeld in the Black Forest, numbering only four hundred and eighteen souls, has twenty-one of its sons and daughters in such ser-

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[1] Rev. E. Garbett says: "I am convinced that, in proportion to the number of its members and to the means at its disposal, the church of the United Brethren has done more to extend the kingdom of Christ throughout the world than any other church that exists." *The Past and Present Condition of Moravian Missions.*

vice at this time. Have they not deserved well of the Christian world, and of the heathen world, too? If all Protestant churches had been equally devoted, equally enterprising, for the last century and a half, not an unevangelized man or woman would now remain on earth. The stream has been small, but unfailing and pure, and it has fertilized many a desert. Other communions have here "a little sister" who hath done what she could; the perfume of her alabaster box hath filled the house; the possibilities of poverty and paucity of numbers have been demonstrated. This quiet fidelity in missionary toils has been a silent rebuke and a stimulus to Protestant Christendom; it has been a noiseless and not fully acknowledged motive-force in the subsequent endeavors of other communions in behalf of the heathen. But what one of them in modern times has exhibited such enfranchisement from self-seeking, and such persistent loyalty to Christ's final order? Is there not urgency upon us, too? Let the dead of the past and of the present bury their dead. Would that at the head of every great division of the sacramental host there might be a sanctified Barbarossa! Marching for the re-conquest of Jerusalem, word comes to him that his son is dead. "Woe to me!" cries the monarch; "is my son dead?" And tears course down his beard. "My son is slain, but Christ still lives! Forward then, soldiers; march!"

LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECTS.

LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECTS.[1]

LECTURE I. THE MORAVIANS.

THE RENEWED CHURCH.

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